

THE
PHILIPPINE
ISLANDS

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ROBERTSON

XXVI
1636

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THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

1493-1898

The PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 1493-1898

Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the close of the Nineteenth Century

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS

Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and
JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD
BOURNE. With maps, portraits and other illustrations

Volume XXVI—1636



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PREFACE

The scope of the present volume is confined to the year 1636, but enough of interest occurs within that time – thanks to the overflowing energy of the new governor, Corcuera, who promptly reorganizes all departments of the government; his controversies with the archbishop and the friars; and the difficulties and dissensions which affect the orders themselves. The greater part of this volume is occupied by Corcuera's report for the first year of his governorship.

The nuns of St. Clare ask (probably in 1635) for certain favors from the royal treasury; and their agent avails himself of this opportunity to ask favors for his own order, the Franciscan Recollects. The nuns themselves write to the king (June 30, 1636), through their abbess, Ana de Christo, informing him of their progress and growth in the Philippines, and other matters. They have founded a convent of their order at Macao; and have built a house at Manila for their residence. They complain that Governor Corcuera has driven the Franciscans from the administration of the royal hospital, and coerced the archbishop – the story of whose ill-treatment by the governor they briefly repeat, asking the king to grant the prelate redress therefor. They also ask that

their confessor may have a cell at the hospital, which is near them; and complain that their convent is much injured by the walls and buildings that are being erected about it—some of these arbitrarily ordered by the governor, who ignores the needs and comfort of the nuns. They close with another appeal for royal aid to finish the building of their convent, and thanks for the king's effort to secure the canonization of their foundress.

A relation for the year 1635-36 describes the arrival at Manila of Governor Corcuera, and narrates his controversies with the archbishop. The account is more detailed and circumstantial than that of Diaz (given in VOL. XXV); and the two constitute an interesting chapter, not only of ecclesiastical history but of human nature. The friars finally send secret envoys to the king, to inform him of their troubles. News comes from Japon of renewed persecutions of Christians there, and of the apostasy of the Jesuit provincial for that kingdom—who has even, it is said, married a heathen woman. At the end of this document is added a copy of a pasquinade which appeared at that time in Manila, lampooning the governor and his adherents.

A group of letters from Corcuera (June 30, 1636) constitute his first annual report to the home government.

Ecclesiastical affairs engross a large part of this document, as would be expected from the recent occurrence of Corcuera's controversy with the archbishop. The governor's account of this affair will be found especially interesting when compared with those presented, in VOL. XXV, from Jesuit and Recollect sources. We have given more space to this

episode than usual – partly because this contention between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities is, although but one of many, a typical and important one; and partly because it affords a favorable opportunity to view such an episode from the different standpoints of that time in Manila – a necessary mental process for obtaining a correct knowledge, not only of this affair, but of all others in which the like elements of human nature are concerned. The resemblance of Corcuera's account to that by "a citizen of Manila" is more than casual, and incidentally throws considerable light on the situation (as well as on social conditions in Manila). It contains attested copies of the various documents connected with the controversy.

Another section is devoted to an account of the governor's difficulties with the religious orders in "subduing the religious to the understanding that your Majesty alone is their natural seignior; and the seignior of the said islands." He claims that the Dominicans are most active of the orders in opposing the government, while certain proceedings of the Franciscans have scandalized the Spanish colony. The Augustinians are in need of reform, as their proceedings are unscrupulous and selfish, and they are trying to usurp the royal authority among the Indians. Corcuera advises that a coadjutor be appointed for the aged archbishop Guerrero, and that hereafter no more friars be made bishops in the islands. The orders have brought over more religious than the government had allowed them, to which the governor objects; he also recommends that those who do come should be procured from Mexico, to save unnecessary expense in their trans-

portation, and that seculars be preferred to friars. Moreover, this will provide occupation for the theological students in the Mexican colleges, who now are set aside, in ecclesiastical appointments there, for the friars. The governor appeals to the king for support in his contest with the friars. In another letter, he recounts the annoyances which he has experienced with the Dominicans, and asks for the king's orders therein. Still another is devoted to the recent difficulties in the Franciscan order, wherein the Observantines have been trying to oust the discalced friars; Corcuera asks the king to interpose his influence with the heads of the order in Spain to check these schemes, and to restrain the arrogance of these friars in the islands. In a brief letter regarding the Mexican trade of the islands, the governor urges that the government double the amount of this trade allowed to the islands. Considerable attention is given to the Chinese who come to the islands; Corcuera describes their present location and status, and proposes further imposts on them in order to replenish the Philippine treasury. He relates the controversy between the Dominicans and Jesuits over the salary paid to the Santa Cruz cura from the Parián fund, and his settlement of the case. Corcuera also proposes the names of several persons from whom may be chosen a protector for the Chinese residents, and announces that he has made a temporary appointment for this office. He states the action that he has taken in regard to certain vacant encomiendas; and asks that these rewards be more strictly assigned, and that the large encomiendas be divided into smaller ones.

Another part of this first report of Corcuera concerns administrative and financial matters. He complains that the royal treasury has been recruited, and afterward depleted, by illegal and unjust means; and that its poor creditors have been shamefully treated by royal officials. He urges that vacancies in the post of governor be filled by persons appointed and sent to the islands before such emergency arises; and that these be sent from Europe, and not from Nueva España. To this is appended a full and itemized account of pay-warrants which have been drawn from the royal treasury during the past year, but were commuted to one-third of their face value, as a "voluntary contribution" to his Majesty's impoverished treasury. This is followed by another list, showing what sums were paid out of the treasury during 1632-35. Much light is thus thrown on the peculiar financial methods of the royal officials, and the general administration of the colony's affairs. Corcuera relates the manner in which he has reorganized the military forces of the colony — doing all in his power to save expenses and to supply deficiencies. He has enrolled several companies of Pam-pango Indians, who will make good soldiers, and cost much less than do the Spaniards. Soon after his arrival, he revises both the civil and military pay-rolls and other costs of government, making all changes that he considers necessary for greater economy and efficiency. He sends the king a copy of the new regulations thus made, with a statement of all salaried offices and paid employments, and the amounts paid in each formerly and now. From these data is deduced the statement that the amount saved

to his Majesty's estate is nearly forty-two thousand pesos a year.

Cristobal de Lara, a Jesuit, writes (July 3) to a friend in Europe; he describes the hardships and perils of missionary life in the islands, and mentions various friends. A week later, Corcuera, having received various royal decrees, sends to the king a statement of what he has done or intends to do in regard to the matters mentioned in the decrees. In several of these, he takes pains to mention that he had done what was required, even before receiving the royal command. Corcuera personally attends to the lading of the Acapulco galleons; he remonstrates against the order that they shall sail by June 1 of each year, explaining that the middle of July is the proper time; and asks that the commanders of the galleons be given disciplinary authority over their men while in the port of Acapulco. He has forbidden the Portuguese of Macao to trade with the Philippines; and advises that the occupation of Formosa be abandoned. Corcuera has formed and armed companies of natives to resist the Moro pirates, and has done much to improve the efficiency of both his military and naval forces. He complains that the friars are disobedient and unruly, but commends the obedience and good-will of the secular clergy. The natives of the islands cannot endure the burdens imposed upon them by the construction of ships; and the governor asks that vessels may be sent thither from Peru, to meet this difficulty.

A group of papers regarding the hospitals of Manila is dated July-August, 1636. Governor Corcuera writes to the king regarding the conduct of these institutions. The expenses therein are too

great; and Corcuera has levied an assessment on the pay of the officers and soldiers, to aid the hospital fund. He finds mismanagement in the royal hospitals, and dismisses from their charge the Franciscan brothers who have administered their affairs. He recommends that they be placed in the care of the hospital order of St. John of God, and of secular officials. He has established a hospital at Cavite, supported mainly by assessments on the sailors and workmen there; and a convalescent ward in the hospital for Spaniards at Manila. Then follow the comments on Corcuera's suggestions, made by the royal Council, approving some, and criticising others; the act issued by the governor for the establishment of the aforesaid convalescent ward, to which he assigns an encomienda of Indians; and a statement of the amounts contributed for the hospital fund by each of the companies and garrisons in the islands, with official attestations, etc.

THE EDITORS

May, 1905.

DOCUMENTS OF 1636

The nuns of St. Clare at Manila. Miguel Perez, O.S.F., and others; 1635-36.

Relation of 1635-36. [Unsigned; Manila?]; June. Letters to Felipe IV. Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera; June 30.

Letter to Father Felipe de Cardenas. Cristobal de Lara, S.J.; July 3.

Letter to Felipe IV. Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera; July 11.

Hospitals and hospital contributions. Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, and others; July-August.

SOURCES: All but two of these documents are obtained from MSS. in the Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla. The second and fourth are from MSS. in the Academia Real de la Historia, Madrid.

TRANSLATIONS: The first, third, and sixth are translated by James A. Robertson; the second and fourth, by Robert W. Haight; the fifth, by Emma Helen Blair.

THE NUNS OF ST. CLARE AT MANILA

Petition of their procurator

Sire:

Fray Miguel Perez, discalced Recollect of the Order of St. Francis, procurator and vicar for the nuns of the convent of St. Clare of the city of Manila, in virtue of the authority which he holds from the said convent (which he presents) says that, as is apparent from the said authority, Captain Gaspar Mendez and other devout persons, who have served and serve your Majesty in military affairs in the Philipinas Islands, have done the same to the said convent for the building of it and of the church, by giving them seven thousand ducados in warrants for what your Majesty owes them from their pay. That has served as an aid in their building. Having petitioned your Majesty to grant favor to the said convent by ordering the royal officials to pay the said warrants, by a decree of the Council of April sixteen (which he presents), it was decreed that he should present the warrants and declare whence they proceeded. As he has declared in the same memorial that they proceed from the pay of soldiers, those warrants, as they are unnecessary here, have not been brought. Hence, since that money is to be used for a work so holy, he is confident that your Majesty will grant them the favor which they en-

treat, and which they will receive as a special kindness from your Majesty.

Further, he says that your Majesty has ordered the viceroy of Nueva España and the royal officials there that, in consideration of the poverty which the discalced Recollect fathers in Philipinas profess in accordance with their rule (as they cannot possess incomes), there be given to them annually from the royal treasury what is necessary for their sackcloth, medicines, breviaries, missals, and other things, as is now given to them every year. The said order has a procurator in Mexico who is urging that those articles be sent every year. Inasmuch as the nuns of the said convent of St. Clare have no income, because they profess the first rule of St. Clare, and in their case is found the same cause and reason [for the royal bounty] as in the discalced fathers, and some others, they petition your Majesty to have the royal officials of Mexico give them annually what is necessary for sackcloth, breviaries, missals, wine, and oil; and that also the governor of Philipinas be ordered to give to the said convents the medicines that may be needed, from the royal hospital which your Majesty has in the city of Manila. Thereby will they receive a very generous alms, and your Majesty, as patron (as is the case) of that convent, ought to concede them that favor, since they are so poor.

[*Endorsed*: "June 13, 636. Have the warrants here mentioned paid in the subsidy allotted to those sisters, and let it be paid in their sacristy and place. In regard to the alms that they request, have the governor notified to aid those nuns with all manner of care and attention; and, as they are so needy, to aid them with goods and spare articles that shall not

be taken from his Majesty's treasury." "I received the authorization.

FRAY MIGUEL PERES CORVERA"]

Petition of the abbess

Sire:

The abbess and nuns of the convent of St. Clare of the city of Manila declare that his Majesty, King Don Phelipe Second, ordered that convent to be founded, and your Majesty is patron of it. That convent, following the rule of the glorious St. Francis, has no income, but is sustained by the alms given to it by devout persons. Benefactors of the said convent—among them Captain Gaspar Mendes, treasurer of the said convent—have given certain pay-warrants which amount to about six or seven thousand pesos, in order that with it the said nuns may attend to some necessary works in the said house (and especially in the church), of which they are greatly in need. In consideration of that, the said abbess petitions and beseeches your Majesty, since this is so proper a work, to order the governor and royal officials to pay the said warrants above mentioned, for the said purpose; and those nuns will receive that as a special alms from your Majesty's royal hand.

[*Endorsed*: "April 16, 636. Let her present the warrants of which she speaks, and let her declare whence they proceed."]

Don Juan Grau, who is the person who is attending to this matter, declares that, according to the knowledge of it which he possesses, these warrants have not been sent to him; and that those which are

cited in the memorial were given by soldiers from their pay, and by other persons which proceed from the same source. They have done it in their zeal to see so holy a work progress, as the need of those nuns is so great, and their institute so poor, since they cannot possess incomes. Consequently, they live solely on the alms given to them by devout persons.

DON JUAN GRAU Y MONFALCON

Letter from the nuns

Sire:

His Catholic Majesty the king our sovereign, your Majesty's father (who is in the enjoyment of Paradise), gave us permission to come here to found a convent of the first rule of our mother St. Clare in these islands. Upon our arrival at this city we founded a convent, and have continued to receive in it the daughters of citizens, conquistadors, and old settlers, many of them very poor. By that method, God our Lord has aided them with so perfect an estate as is that of the religious life. We, as founders, rear these girls and teach them to observe and follow our rule, so that, if we nuns who come from España pass away, they may teach the same to, and cause it to be observed by, those who shall take the habit hereafter. God has been pleased to cause all those who have taken the habit to flourish in virtue – so greatly that they furnish an example to the old nuns – who are now all daughters of our mother St. Geronima, whom they follow closely, imitating her in devotion and penances. We inform your Majesty of this, as we have heard that you will rejoice greatly, as one who knows and has information of the great results that God has obtained from our

coming, and which He is continuing to obtain through the new foundation [we refer to those of our number] who went to train nuns, who left this convent for that purpose to go to the city of Macan – which belongs to the crown of Portugal, at the entrance and mainland of China – where there are at present many nuns of especial devotion who have taken our habit, which had had no convent there any more than at this place.

As soon as we arrived, our holy mother undertook the building of a convent, where we might live with modesty and humility, and with the aid of alms which were given to us by some citizens; and orphan nuns sent what they possessed. We have been building a house and church near the wall which overlooks the river of this city – in the part that appeared the most remote from trade and very secluded, and with no other view than that of the heavens. In front of it is the street in the middle of which is the royal hospital of the Spaniards, which has been administered since its foundation by the religious of our seraphic father St. Francis. There the religious who is vicar of this convent, who administers to us the holy sacraments, had a cell. From the alms given us we provide for his support. Lately, Governor Don Sevastian Hurtado de Corcuera, without cause or reason for it, drove the religious from the said hospital by force and violence and the arms of soldiers, to the contempt of our sacred order, saying that he prefers to have it administered by a secular priest, whom he brought with him as his chaplain. This prohibition, as it is not befitting the service of God and your Majesty, has cost great suffering to the archbishop of these islands, grief

to all this Christian community, and wonder to the heathen Chinese – who even among themselves respect those whom they call “bonzes,” who are the same as archbishops among us.

The governor, joining to the matter of the hospital other reasons – unworthy that he should assign them because he did not act upon them – had enough power, with only one auditor who is in this royal Audiencia, to take away from the archbishop his temporalities, banish him from the kingdoms, and condemn him to a fine of two thousand ducados. The governor took charge of the execution of the banishment, one night, with a large body of infantry with matches lighted. The orders and their superiors came out to attend their prelate, who was clad in his pontifical robes. While he had the most holy sacrament in his hands, it happened that the chief constable of the court, one Bartolome Thenorio, tried to take it away from him, and used so much force that he wounded the finger of a discalced religious of St. Augustine (who was aiding the archbishop to hold the monstrance) against the foot of the monstrance, drawing blood from his hand. The archbishop fell to the ground, as did the lunette of the monstrance. When the governor (who was in the street in disguise) learned of it, he sent infantry to drive out forcibly all the religious, with orders to leave the archbishop all alone. They were not to allow him to take food or drink. Thus did they, dragging away the religious, upon whom the vilest men in the world laid hands, since now they could. Finally the archbishop, having been arrested, sent the most holy sacrament to the church next day; and, having decreed a suspension of religious func-

tions, allowed himself to embark and was taken by twenty-five soldiers and an adjutant to an island called Mariveles, seven leguas from the city. The soldiers were ordered not to allow him to place on the vessel either bed, food, or drink. No one was to talk to him there, or give him anything to eat. This was moderated afterward. He was detained there twenty-seven days, and he returned after that with a party of soldiers who asked for him – as your Majesty will learn more minutely from the relations that will be sent of everything, and from that one which the governor will send. According to what we believe, his relation will not be the most authentic, but that which, he thinks, can accomplish for him most, for the discharge of so heavy a responsibility as God will have placed upon him, for the time when he shall go to give account to Him. Will your Majesty look carefully into this cause, as a father, patron, and defender of the Church, so that in the future others may not take this as a precedent, and a greater evil befall us – if it be that an evil greater than this has [ever] occurred. It may [again] occur, under the sole pretext that it is service to your Majesty, and that alone must be accomplished – which is the governor's sole excuse, and the pretext that they give for the evil deed. The Church remains very much dejected, the orders and inhabitants very disconsolate, and the Indians wretched; and every estate of the people of these islands is afflicted over the new administration of the governor – all through anxiety of acquiring for your Majesty; so that in a short time it will all be drained, and there will be no more to drain, and this Christian Church will be ruined. The governor seems to be striving

for its ruin rather than its advancement. It is a matter that demands a speedy remedy, as your Majesty will learn by letters and relations from well-intentioned persons, which will be sent secretly. For neither the Audiencia, nor the city, nor anyone else dare send openly, because of their fear of the governor's harshness; and, from the Council, certain agents usually send the governors the original letters written from this place, in which account of government matters is given. Of this we inform your Majesty, although in brief and succinctly, because of our desire that God may send us protection and consolation through the wise decisions of your Majesty.

Because of the governor having removed the religious from the hospital, it became necessary for our vicar to retire to the convent of our father [St. Francis]; which is quite distant from here. On account of the difficulties caused by the excessive heat, and the severity of the rains during the rainy season, he cannot come at all hours to confess us and to administer the holy sacraments as we need, especially at night. What is worse is, that the governor is building a ward at the hospital, on the side that faces our convent – which he says is for convalescents. It is so high that because of its so close proximity to the convent, we think that one will be able to see the beds of the nuns in our infirmary and dormitory. That is a thing that ought to be carefully considered. But the governor has only thought about proceeding with his own purpose, leaving us surrounded on streets without any exits; for one that was near the wall – by which the parents and relatives of the nuns came, and which served for the use of the convent – has been taken by the governor for the building,

thereby doing us much damage. For many structures are now being built about us, and that by the most prominent people in the city.

In another part, the passage-way inside the wall – which was a street for passengers, and of service to the convent – has been closed by the governor by placing against it, and across our very threshold, another building, which he is having erected as lodgings for the cavalry and as stables, so that the company that he has organized may keep their horses.

Accordingly, we humbly beseech your Majesty to be pleased to have the hospital returned to the religious of our order, as it has always been [in their charge], and that a cell be given therein to our vicar. By so doing, God our Lord will be greatly served, and the poor aided spiritually and corporally. After those religious left, the nuns were very disconsolate for lack of ministers to attend to them. The secular priest appointed for them thinks that he has fulfilled his duty by saying mass. We trust that your Majesty, through your Christian zeal, will furnish relief to so pious causes as these we mention, at the first opportunity. Will your Majesty order that the street be left free, from the place where we have our porter's lodge to the wall – without [permitting] any hospital building or windows – as an enclosure for the convent and for its guard; so that if there should be no place for the father-vicar to live, a low dwelling may be made for him, and for the men who serve in the convent – making a gate at the wall for [receiving] the food for the convent.

The poverty of our order and rule is well known to your Majesty. The lack of comfort in which we

live is very great, as we are without sufficient funds to finish the house and church, and the citizens are so needy that they cannot help us with the alms that we need – [although] they do not a little in aiding us with what is necessary for our ordinary support. Some devout people have given us as alms some pay warrants and other debts owed to them by the royal treasury. These amount to about twelve thousand pesos, and we could finish the work with that sum. We entreat your Majesty to be pleased to have your royal decree promulgated, ordering the governor to pay us up to the said sum of twelve thousand pesos in the certified warrants which we have. That will constitute a very great blessing and be an alms which your Majesty will bestow upon this convent.

We also petition your Majesty to be pleased to show us favor by having us given alms of sackcloth, oil, an apothecary-shop in the royal hospital, wine for the masses, and wheat or flour for bread for the support of the nuns – as is done with the orders of the discalced religious; for we have no other protection or security besides that of your Majesty, which is everlasting. [*In the margin*: “Observe this matter, and give a copy of this section to Licentiate Leon, so that he may make a report of it, when the matter is considered.” “It was given.”]

We thank your Majesty for the favors that you have shown this convent and the nuns in it, in having so thoroughly taken in your charge the beatification and canonization of our holy mother Geronima de la Assumpcion, whereby we, her daughters, hope to behold such a day as that of her canonization. We keep her body, with all the veneration and line of

succession that is possible to us; and every day God works new miracles by her. The nuns, in and out of the choir, in all their prayers, discipline, and fasting, make special mention of your Majesty, and of the queen our mistress. We beseech God our Lord to preserve your Majesty in health, peace, and quiet, with your kingdoms, for the protection of Christendom and of the Church, and for happy victories against the heretics and enemies of the Church. This convent will supplicate this from God constantly, as it has ever done, according to our obligation.

May God preserve the Catholic person of your Majesty, as we, these humble nuns, desire, with increase of greater kingdoms. May He prosper the succession to them, so that, by means of it, all heathen kingdoms may come to the true knowledge of the holy faith. Manila, June 30, 1636.

ANA DE CHRISTO, abbess.

SISTER MAGDALENA DE CHRISTO, vicar.

SISTER MARIA DE LOS ANGELES

[*In the margin:* "Have the governor notified concerning the complaint of these nuns, and the injury that they say has been done them in his having shut their street; and in the view that their apartments have which opens toward the cells, stables, and lodgings, which are near their house; and of the other things that they mention – so that no injury or discomfort may be caused to them in any manner. Also say that, if the warrants which they say that they possess are certified they shall be paid in the value that shall belong to them and at the proper time. And since it is the usage to write to this convent, let it be done, advising them of what is ordered, and saying

that care will always be taken of everything that pertains to them; and that we esteem their commendation of their Majesties to God, which they shall continue.”]

[*Endorsed*: “Seen, and decreed within. June 16, 638.”]

RELATION OF 1635-36

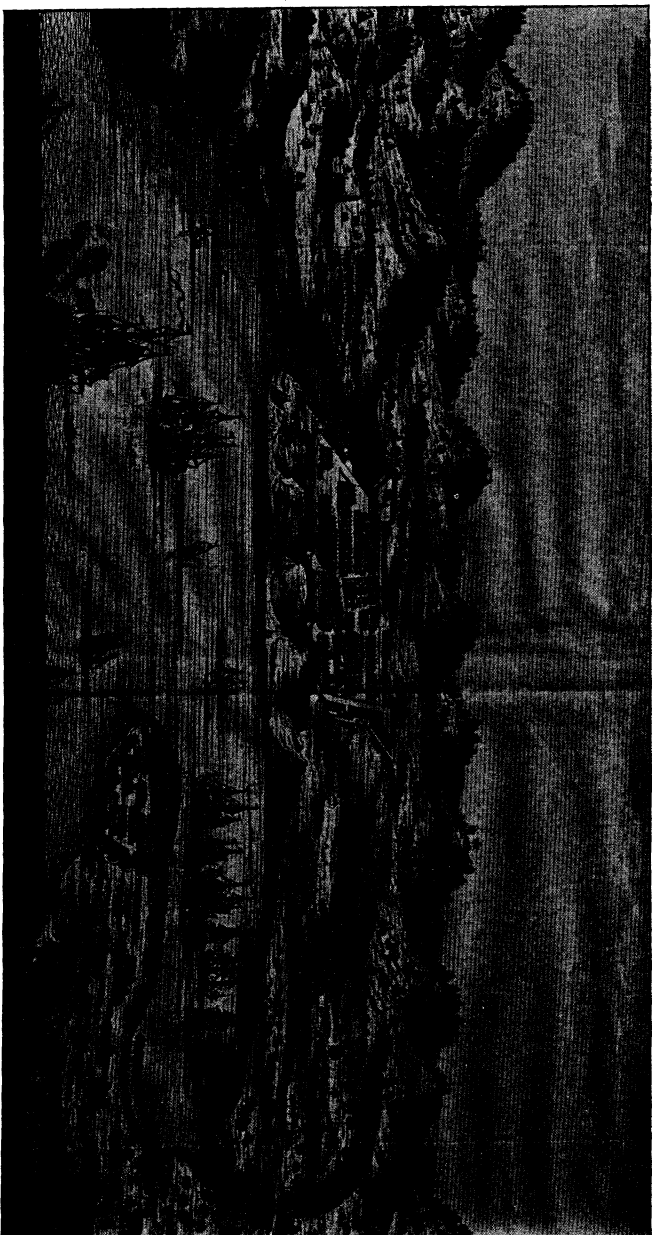
Relation of events in the city of Manila from the year 1635 until the month of June, 1636

On the twenty-third of June, 1635, the ships from Castilla arrived at the port of Capite, in which came Don Sevastian Hurtado de [C]orquera, knight of the Habit of Alcantara, as governor and captain-general for his Majesty. On the twenty-fourth of the said month and year, on St. John's day, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he entered Manila to take possession of the government—first taking the customary oath, on entering through the gate of the Bagungaiabar,¹ which is one of the chief gates of this city, accompanied by the city government and the cabildo, with the rest of the citizens who escorted him, until he reached the buildings of the palace, where he was received with much pomp, as arranged by the regimiento of this city. A few days after his arrival he reviewed all of the Spanish infantry in the camp (together with the rest that he brought in his company), where he made sweeping changes,

¹ Apparently referring to the gate (now Puerta Real) at the southern end of the city which opens toward Bagumbayan, a district between Manila and Ermita. Through this gate were made the formal entrances of governors and archbishops previous to 1762, when the city was taken by the English; after that time, these entrances were made by the Puerta del Parián, at the north-eastern part of the wall.

leaving the four captains in the camp. He named as sargento-mayor of the regiment Don Pedro de Corquera, his nephew; and to the man who had held that office he gave the governorship of Ermosa Island. He likewise appointed, as captain and governor of his company, Alferez Don Juan Francisco de Corquera, his nephew. He immediately decided that the ships (which were ready to make the voyage) should not go to Castilla, saying that it was not expedient for them to go; and thus it came about, for no one dared to oppose him.

At this time occurred an event which, as it was the beginning of everything which has taken place, must be remembered. An artilleryman had a slave girl whom he had brought from Yndia, saying that he was going to marry her, as he had taken her while she was a maiden. But she became angry and left the house, going to that of Juan de Aller, a kinsman of Doña Maria de Franzia, wife of Don Pedro de Corquera, whom she asked to buy her. The sargento-mayor besought the captain-general to negotiate with the said artilleryman. He had the latter called, and asked him whether he wished to sell her. He answered that he did not keep her for sale, and the matter was left thus for several days. Then he was again asked to sell her, and answered resolutely that he did not wish to sell her, as he was keeping her in order to marry her. Thereupon it was ordered that he be placed in the stocks, and he was ill-treated. The man cried out that they were unjustly trying to take his slave from him; and order was given that he be taken into the house of Pedro Guerrero, and there punished as if he were mad. There he was so ill-treated that they would have driven him mad if he



View of city of Manila; from Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*
(Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1724)

[From copy in library of Wisconsin State Historical Society]

was not, until he saw fit to cease his obstinacy in regard to the slave woman – although he refused to receive the money which he was ordered to take from the said house, and immediately determined on a rash plan. On the eighth of August, which was Sunday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the governor was going to the residence of the Society, to see the comedy which the fathers there were presenting; and with him was riding Doña Maria de Franzia, the wife of his nephew the sargento-mayor, in a coach, having the slave woman behind. When they arrived at the corner of the Augustinian church, the artilleryman came out to meet them; and, seizing the slave woman by the arm, struck her with a dagger so that she died straightway, and he retired again into the said convent of St. Augustine. The news was conveyed to the governor, who had already gone into the Society's house; and he sent an adjutant and a captain of his guard, together with the sargento-mayor, and some soldiers, with an order to surround the church and bring out the guilty man, and take him to the headquarters of the guard. This was done accordingly; but, as the religious had hidden him, the soldiers were unable to find him. The convent was left surrounded with soldiers, who remained there two days, so that if the artilleryman came out they could get him and bring him back; and likewise the soldiers were ordered not to allow any religious to enter or leave, or any food to be brought in to them, under penalty of death – on which account the religious found themselves in very hard straits. On the third day the guard was withdrawn, and on the fourteenth of the said month a decree was published promising [reward] to whoever should discover

where the guilty man was – if he were a person of quality, an office as sergeant or standard-bearer, according to his position; or, if he were not such a person, three hundred pesos and permission to go to España. On the twenty-seventh of this month, a negro belonging to the said convent gave information that the guilty man was in a cell therein. The governor sent Adjutant Don Juan de Frias and Alferez Don Diego de Herrero with soldiers, giving them the order to take away the man, even though the religious tried to hinder him. This they did, and could not be resisted; and as a reward for taking him out, a post of sergeant was given to the adjutant, and a military command to the alferez.

Having taken him out, they brought him the next day to confession, and on the following day sentenced him to death. The most illustrious lord archbishop, Don Fray Fernando Guerrero, learning of this, made a formal demand for the prisoner on behalf of the church; but they were rebellious, and refused to surrender him. On the sixth of September of this said year the most illustrious archbishop sent a requisition to General Molina, who was the judge of this case, directing him to send back the prisoner, but to no effect; on the contrary, that very day the gallows was erected in front of the Augustinian convent, so that the execution would be in sight of the house. When the archbishop saw this contumacious act, he sent to notify the judge again, at seven o'clock at night, to send back the prisoner under penalty of major excommunication, *lata sententiæ*. Seeing that he would not do so, at eleven o'clock at night the archbishop sent another requisition and notification to General Molina, and from there to the palace to notify the

said governor—who ordered the churchmen who went to do this to be arrested, and taken to the guard-house until morning. On this said day of the said month, four companies marched out with the prisoner. Fresh notifications were sent that, if he were not returned to the church within one hour, suspension of religious functions would be imposed, and heavy pecuniary penalties for the Holy Crusade. All this did not suffice to keep them from continuing the work; and, the time set having expired, the interdict was declared when the prisoner arrived at the corner of the plaza. The night before the bells had rung for the interdict, and the sound of the bells struck the Christians with fear. But none of this was sufficient, for at about twelve o'clock in the morning, they finished hanging him—so close to the sacred place that the ladder was placed on a level with the portico, in such manner that it could not help being in the sacred place. They took him away after hanging him, and threw the body at the door of the convent, which is at the gate of the church of St. Augustine. They rapped upon the door, and, as it was not opened, they left the body there; it remained without burial for two days, until the brothers of holy La Misericordia buried it in the cemetery of the cathedral church, so that the body would not be corrupted and become a disgusting object. The interdict lasted two or three days, and was raised on the day of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, at about ten o'clock in the morning. As Don Pedro de Monroy was provisor at the time, and the one who pronounced the excommunications, the governor decided to seize him and send him by ship to Machan, [*i.e.*, Macao] or to Ermossa Island; but, becoming aware of this intention,

he found a place of safety, to escape from this severe action. An order was given at all the gates that, if he should go out or enter them, he should be arrested. But a few days ago he was sent out of the gate which is called Santo Domingo, in the habit of a friar. When the guard who recognized him would have seized him, two Franciscan religious, who were with him, defended him and gave him an opportunity to enter the Dominican convent. When the governor learned this, irritated because his order of arrest had not proved effectual, he ordered the soldiers to be arrested who constituted the guard, and would have had them garrote the alférez Don Francisco de Rivera, who was in command at that gate, because they had not killed a friar and taken prisoner Don Pedro de Monroy. The said governor sent immediately to the convent of Santo Domingo to have them deliver the said provisor, and to say that, if they did not do so, he would go in person and take him away. To this father Fray Domingo Gonzalez, the provincial, and commissary of the Holy Office, answered that it was not the provisor who was there, but Don Pedro de Monroy, adviser of the Holy Office, which was not situated there; and, as such, he had kept him busy with matters pertaining to that holy tribunal, as might be seen by these disagreements which existed between the two heads [of government].

The most illustrious lord archbishop decided to call a council of the most grave and learned men of all the religious orders, in order to determine what was expedient. When he sent to ask the fathers of the Society, they refused to go. After this, seeing that things were going from bad to worse, it was

necessary to call another assembly of the religious orders; and when the said fathers were summoned it was not possible for them to go. Thereupon, seeing that they were separating themselves from the affairs of the church, the lord archbishop ordered that they be notified of an act by which they were deprived of the right of preaching in all the churches subject to his jurisdiction. The said fathers, by virtue of a brief which they claim to have from his Holiness, answered that they could preach without permission, and *contradicente episcopo*. Without showing the said brief, they appointed a judge-conservator for the most illustrious archbishop, who was Don Fabian de Santillan y Avelanes, the school-master of the cathedral. The latter notified his most illustrious Lordship that he must revoke the said act within two hours, under penalty of major excommunication and four thousand Castilian ducados. The lord archbishop went before the royal Audiencia with a plea of fuerza, to declare whether the appointment made had been made legally and justly, as it had been presented before no judge, as is provided by law. The next day several religious, who were the attorneys of his illustrious Lordship in the royal Audiencia, having come together there, [Father] Badilla of the Society took up the case, and through the continuance given him to inform himself of his rights, the other religious, who were acting on behalf of the lord archbishop, could do nothing until the next day, when they pleaded for him. During that time the said archbishop was posted as excommunicated, the notices being fixed on the doors of the churches of this city, by order of the judge-conservator. These notices remained posted

until the twenty-fourth of January, because the royal Audiencia declared that fuerza had not been committed [by the judge-conservator]. At the end of this time, which was a period of more than three months, it was decided to absolve his most illustrious Lordship. The governor went to his house, on St. Polycarp's day; and together they went to the cathedral, and made their peace. But meantime, in the proceedings against him, he had been condemned, by formal act of the judge-conservator, to pay another four thousand ducados; and the government of the archbishopric was to be taken from him for four years. All this was declared null by the lawyers, who said that the judge and the fathers of the Society had thus incurred the penalties of the law.

Considering the differences which every day arose, the councils decided that it was necessary to send a despatch to his Majesty secretly, remitting all the documents – although there was no more in the affair than as the proverb goes, the fear of a cat scalded with cold water. The governor began to suspect this, and left an order at all the gates to arrest father Fray Francisco Pindo and father Fray Domingo Collado, of the Dominican order; for he thought that, being persons who were not well disposed to him, it would be they who would carry the despatches. But his shrewd schemes were frustrated,² and, when no one was thinking about it, a cha[m]pan had left with two religious – one a Dominican and the other a Recollect of St. Augustine, named father Fray Nicolas de Tolentino and father Fray Graviel de Porto

² Spanish, *mas boluesele el sueño del perro*; literally, “a dog's sleep fell on him.”

Carrero – and a few sailors. These went to the island of Cayo, where they provided themselves with everything necessary for their support, without anyone hindering them. On New Year's day they sailed in the direction of Malaca, as was afterwards learned with certainty, because they arrived a short time after at Machan. They arrived at so favorable an opportunity that within a few days they embarked on an English ship that was about to leave for Yndia, saying that they were leaving on business of the Holy Office. May God grant them a good voyage on this occasion.

A ship has come from Machan and brought news that there had been a great persecution in the kingdom of Japon and the martyrdom of many Catholic religious. It is also said that Father Christoval Ferreira, the provincial at that time for the Society of Jesus in that kingdom, had apostatized; and that he not only had recanted, but had married a heathen woman, and that the wife of the said Portuguese father had given birth to a child. Moreover, he had betrayed [to the authorities] the few other religious who had remained there. Such things as these, and worse, persons who abandon our holy faith usually do. The emperor of Japon has ordered that no friar or other religious should enter [that country], and has promised great rewards to those who should learn of their entrance into his kingdom, and inform him thereof; and he threatens severe punishment to those who do not do so.

During these troubles [in the diocese] Don Francisco Valdes resigned the archdeaconry of this cathedral; and the governor, by virtue of the royal patronage, appointed as archdeacon Don Andres Arias

Giron, and sent to the most illustrious archbishop to obtain his collation. The latter answered that Master Don Andres Arias was under visitation; and that he had exiled and excommunicated him for sufficient causes, and could not give him possession. When he learned of this, Master Don Andres Arias Giron presented himself with a plea of fuerza before the royal Audiencia; and the governor ordered that his illustrious Lordship be notified that, without fail, he should put Don Andres in possession. He therefore called a council of religious, and all said that he should not in conscience comply.

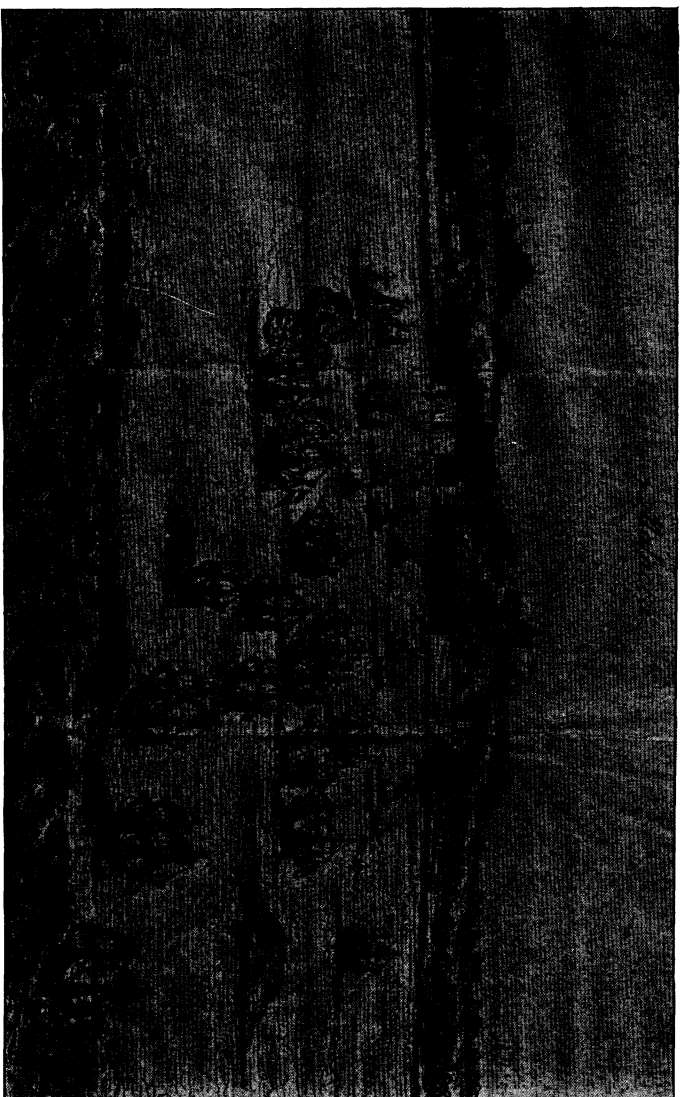
On Friday, the ninth of May, at seven o'clock at night, a royal decree was issued that within an hour from the viewing of the said royal decree Don Andres should be put in possession, on pain of the archbishop being exiled from the kingdoms, and paying two thousand Castilian ducados. Thereupon his most illustrious Lordship answered that he would obey the said decree, as in the name of his king and lord; but as for its fulfilment, there were reasons why he could not accede to this, that the man was under visitation, and [the ecclesiastical authorities] must not be hindered. At eight o'clock at night, seeing that they were going on with the execution of the decree, and had declared him exiled, fearing some further severity, he sent for the most holy sacrament to the convent of St. Francis; and, dressed in his pontifical robes, holding the elements in his hands, in front of his episcopal chair, with all possible propriety, he approached an altar, and there remained, waiting for the conclusion of what had been begun. At ten o'clock at night the captain of artillery and Alguazil-mayor Tenorio, with Adju-

tant Don Diego de Herrera, and thirty musketeers, entered the archiepiscopal dwelling. At this juncture an interdict was declared; on that night, therefore, the confusions, disorders, and turbulence were greater than ever before seen. Guards were posted above and below [the archbishop's house] on all the street corners, so that no one could enter or go out; and having found the lord archbishop in the aforesaid state, and attended by many religious of all orders, word thereof was given to the governor. He sent an order that all the religious and secular priests who remained with his most illustrious Lordship should be sent away. Although this was not executed, because it was not mentioned in the warrant, the court-alguazil went to the palace to learn the intention of the governor. The latter rectified the order anew; and the said alguazil-mayor, coming to the archiepiscopal building, executed it, directing the religious and secular priests to depart from the house. As they did not do so, he commanded the soldiers to obey him, under penalty of three doses of rope;³ and to take the religious out, dragging them, or in any way they could. This they did, maltreating them and giving them rude pushes, tearing their habits. They left two religious with his most illustrious Lordship, to aid him to bear the imprisonment. The alguazil-mayor came to take them away, and hurt one of them with the rays on the lunette, owing to the force which he applied; for the religious were clinging to the archbishop, whom they caused to fall to the floor, with the most holy sacra-

³ Spanish, *tres ratos de cuerda*; referring to punishment by suspending the delinquent by his hands, which are tied behind his back.

ment. It was only by great good fortune that he did not lose his grasp upon it at this time. In this confusion a soldier drew his sword, and threw himself upon it, intending to kill himself – saying that the man who had seen the most holy sacrament upon the ground was no longer fit to live. He lay there, wounded, and thus they took him prisoner, and were about to garrote him; this, however, they did not do, but sent him to exile at Samboanga. The archbishop was left alone with the soldiers of the guard, and several of them, as good Christians, remained on their knees before the most holy sacrament, shocked and weeping to see that among Catholics such things could take place. At this juncture the bishop of Camarines told his most illustrious Lordship that the governor said that if he wished to eat he must abandon the holy sacrament, and that if he did not do so nothing was to be given to him; and that these were the orders he had given to the said adjutant, under pain of death. Thereupon the lord archbishop answered, with much courage, that he was prepared to die with the most holy sacrament in his hands, rather than do anything that would be an offense against it. Thereupon they left him without a servant, to the great indignation and sorrow of many soldiers, the governor remaining as hard and obdurate as if he had not been a Christian.

At one o'clock at night there came a new order that the soldiers should drive from the streets the religious, who had been upon their knees with candles in their hands, worshipping the Lord of heaven and earth, since the time when they had been driven from His presence. They were driven away, by dragging them and tearing their garments; and



View of Malacca; from *Recueil des voïages . . . de la Compagnie des Indes orientales* (Amsterdam, 1725)
[From copy in library of Wisconsin State Historical Society]

the cassock and cross were taken from the cross-bearer of his most illustrious Lordship. He cried out to God, begging for mercy—a thing which melted the hearts of all the city, so that nothing was heard of but “Mercy!” accompanied by the tears and apprehensions of the faithful. After this was done, at two o’clock at night there came another order, that the friars should be made to go back to their convents, which they had not done. The governor sent the sargento-mayor to tell them to go back, and not cause any more disturbance. To this they answered that they had left their convents determined to die for God, and that whether they died there or in Japon was all one; that they would not leave that place, because they were in front of the most holy sacrament; and, if it should fall from the hands of the lord archbishop, the soldiers must not approach to raise it, as this was not lawful, but they themselves must do so, as priests.

The sargento-mayor went away with this answer; and as the governor was at the corner of Santa Potenziana, on the square of the archiepiscopal buildings, in disguise, he heard all that occurred. He sent another order, commanding, in the name of his Majesty, that the religious should retire to their convents; and that, if they did not do so, they would be dragged thither. Seeing his accursed intention, they thought it best to let themselves be taken away by the soldiers, but with much sadness and weeping. The Franciscan friars remained in their portico, to be near the house of the lord archbishop, so that they might watch what passed. The governor himself came personally, and made them retire and go within their convent.

The very next day, which was the eve of Espiritu Santo, his illustrious Lordship, finding that the governor's obstinacy was continuing and that he was being abandoned (for no one was allowed to enter), and that he had had nothing to eat for twenty-four hours, and that all this was in preparation for placing him on shipboard, sent to call the guardian of the Franciscans, and entrusted to him the most holy sacrament, which was taken to his convent with great ceremony, and there deposited. At this time the archbishop was allowed to make appointments of persons to govern his archbishopric. He appointed the father reader Fray Francisco de Paula, of the Order of St. Dominic, and the father reader and definitor Fray Pedro de Santo Thomas, of the discalced Augustinians, ordering them not to raise the interdict and suspension of religious functions, or absolve the governor, Auditor Marcos Capata, and Don Andres Giron, as he reserved their absolution to himself. Thereupon at eleven o'clock in the morning the court-alguazil came with a carriage, and his illustrious Lordship alone was placed in it, all the religious accompanying it with tears at seeing such cruelty and severity. When they had come to the gate known as Puerta de los Almazenes,⁴ the archbishop alighted, and again excommunicated all those who had caused his exile, and cursed the city; and throwing stones at it, and shaking the dust from his feet, he directed his steps to the water to board a champan. This was provided with sixteen arquebusiers, and the said adjutant; but they did not allow

⁴ *i.e.*, "gate of the magazines," or royal storehouses. The northernmost gate of the city, not far east of the fort of Santiago, and opening toward the Pásig River.

any of his servants to embark, nor consent that any provision of food be placed aboard for the voyage. When he begged for his cross, the said alguazil-mayor answered that there was no cross for him. Thereupon he embarked, and although many religious desired to take leave of him, they were not allowed to come. Thus they conveyed him to the island of Maribelis, distant from this city some seven leguas, more or less. Although many private citizens of this city made urgent request to go in their boats to the champan, they were not allowed to do so; for it was seen that they were carrying provisions for the archbishop, being moved to pity by the cruelty with which they were using him, for one would not expect infidels to do worse.

In this island he was kept prisoner, without being allowed to communicate or to write letters, his treatment being such as might be expected from dispositions so obstinate. On the eleventh of this month of May the said governor appointed the said bishop of Camarines to govern the archbishopric, contrary to [the law of] God and with no permission, saying that the lord archbishop was a decayed limb. The said bishop accepted the appointment, acting contrary to [decrees of] the Council of Trent, and incurring its penalties. He absolved the said governor, Auditor Capata, and Don Andres Giron; and gave the last-named the collation for the archdeaconry, raising the interdict imposed by the legitimate prelate. Those in the cathedral and the fathers of the Society, who were followed by other churches, besides the convents of St. Dominic, St. Francis, and the discalced Augustinians, at once replied that they would observe the suspension imposed on them, be-

cause they knew that a governor [of the diocese] could not raise the interdict, or do anything of what he had done; for he was suspended, interdicted, excommunicated, and under discipline, for having exercised the pontifical office, raised the interdict, and absolved the excommunicated – all this being reserved to the lord archbishop, as was declared by all the learned men of this city. Although the cathedral, the church of the Society, and the Observantine convent of St. Augustine said mass, no one went to hear it; but on the contrary the Catholics were scandalized that these people should do such things through fear of the governor – things which caused great scandal, and which it would take a long time to tell. [I omit them] mainly because most of them are better left unsaid, because of the cruelty involved in them, rather than told in a relation.

On the twentieth of May there came an order from the lord archbishop, at the petition of religious and holy persons, that the suspension should be raised for a fortnight, so that the feast of Corpus Christi, which was on the twenty-second of the said month, might be celebrated; and when the said period of time was past, he imposed the interdict as before – although it was not observed except by the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the discalced Augustinians. The governors of the archbishopric and of the islands respectively gave to the fathers of the Society [the curacy of] Chiapo, which they demanded, as belonging to the archiepiscopal court. It was donated to the lord archbishop by the Franciscan fathers, on condition that it should be conferred upon no one, but should remain for the maintenance of the poor and of secular priests; and that, in case it were given

to any other order, the condition and donation should not be valid which had been made to the said lord archbishop, and accordingly it should revert again to the said Franciscan fathers, as it was before. But the fathers of the Society would listen to none of this, drawn on by ambition; nor would the governor, who allowed them to demand what they wished.

A few days after this, on the fourth of June, the royal decree was revoked; and father Fray Domingo Gonzalez, the Dominican provincial, and other dignitaries, went to the lord archbishop, and asked him not to change anything which had been done by the said bishop of Camarines. The lord archbishop would not consent to this, as it was all void, and opposed to conscience. But on the prayer and supplication of grave religious, who besought his permission for this until his Majesty should send a remedy sufficient for so many evils as had occurred, his illustrious Lordship thereupon consented to this; and he entered this city on the sixth of June, amid the general rejoicing of all, for thereby the church was freed from schism and the administration of an excommunicated bishop. In short, in order to remove greater evils things remain thus, without anything being changed; we hope that God our Lord and his Majesty will redress this, and that persons will be sent to punish the guilty according to their crimes.

*Pasquin que se Pusso A la puerta del gouern^{or} de
manila Don seuastian Vrtado de Corquera*

Quien la yglesia vitupera – Corcuera
y quien la Birtud maltrata – Çapata
y quien se çisca de miedo – Ledo
segun esso llorar Puedo
yglesia tu triste suerte
Pues Bienen a darte muerte
Corcuera Çapata y Ledo

Quien la birtud a dejado – Collado
quien obliga a tal trayçion – ambizion
y quien sigue tal de miedo – Pinedo ⁵
de que an labrado rezelo
vna orca como aman
do rabiando moriran
Collado ambiçion Pinedo

⁵ So in the manuscript, probably a transcriber's error; but it evidently refers to the Dominican Pinelo.

*Pasquinade affixed to the door of the governor of
Manila, Don Sevastian Vrtado de Corquera*⁶

Who vituperates the Church? – Corcuera.

Who abuses Virtue? – Çapata.

Who soils himself through fear? – Ledo.

Therefore, I can weep

Thy sad fate, O, Church!

For they come to deal thee death –

Corcuera, Çapata, and Ledo.

Who has abandoned Virtue? – Collado.

What leads him to such treason? – Ambition.

Who imitates that one through fear? – Pinedo.

Hence I fear that they have prepared

A gallows as did Aman,⁷

On which raging will die –

Collado, Ambition, Pinedo.

⁶ The Editors are indebted to Rev. T. C. Middleton, O.S.A., of Villanova College, and father Fray Juan Mateos, of the same order, of the Escorial, but now (May, 1905) at Villanova, for valuable help in the translation of this pasquinade. As much of the subject matter of the lampoon is local tit-tat, and as many of the meanings (although they would be perfectly apparent to the Manila populace) are purposely veiled, assurance cannot be given that the present interpretation is correct in every detail. There are also evident plays upon words and phrases, which can only be guessed at. Hence, the original is given partly for that reason.

The poetical form in which this pasquinade is written dates from an early period in Castile. Cervantes has a poem of this class in Chapter xxvii of the first part of *Don Quijote*; while Lope de Vega has also employed it. The second, fourth, and sixth lines form a sort of echo to the first, third, and fifth lines (the six lines being, however, written as three in the pasquinade). See Clemencin's edition of *Don Quijote* (Madrid, 1894), iii, pp. 7-9.

⁷ See the book of Esther. This is the Haman of the King James Bible.

quien apresta desatinos – tiatinos
en que encubren excesos – en quesos
pues de quesos que se espera – cera
no entiendo aquesta quimera
mas si es cosa de ynteres
quemarlos a todos tres
tiatinos quesos y cera

quien dixo el vien por el mal – vn probinzial
quien la fe dixo sin tino – vn tiatino
y quien su ser tubo en poco – vn cojo
pues a llorar me prouoco
viendo vn tiatino casado
y que fue Por su pecado
probinzial tiatino y cojo

Arcidiano sin razon – Jiron
obispo con poco estudio – Çamudio
excomulgado notorio – tenorio
Bien merezen Purgatorio
de ynfierno estos tres amigos
Pues son de Dios enemigos
Jiron Çamudio y tenorio

Who are preparing lawless acts? – The Theatines
[i.e., Jesuits].

Wherein do they hide their violations of law? – In
cheeses.

Therefore, what can be expected from cheeses? –
Wax.⁸

I do not understand such an extravagant idea;
But if it is a question of profit,
It would be best to burn them all three –
Theatines, cheeses, and wax.

Who said “Good” instead of “Bad”? – A pro-
vincial.

Who explained the faith without discretion? – A
Theatine.

And who set little value on his own existence? – A
cripple.

Therefore am I moved to tears
To see a Theatine who is married;
And who was, because of his sin –
Provincial, Theatine, and cripple.

Archdeacon with no right – Jiron.

A bishop with little learning – Camudio.

A notorious excommunicate – Tenorio.

Right well they deserve the Purgatory
Of Hell, these three friends;
For they are the enemies of God –
Jiron, Camudio, and Tenorio.

⁸ Father Fray Juan Mateos says of this passage: “The author seems to use the word ‘quesos’ [cheeses], alluding to ‘casos’ [cases] (a practical question of moral theology). I imagine that the text refers to the accusation made against those fathers of being casuists or adapters of the moral doctrine to their own convenience. From the context, one can deduce that ‘cera’ [wax] is used in the meaning of ‘dinero’ [money], and the meaning in that case might be, that the Jesuits were trying to get money by fitting up the consciences of men with moral doctrines easy of fulfilment.”

A quien aorco de vn madero – vn arti°
en que razon se fundaua – Por la esclaua
que le quita el omizido – la uida
ynjustam^{te}. Perdida
fue pero ya me lamento
que perdiese en vn momento
artillero esclaua y vida

quien bio Pagar de los frutos – tributos
y quien aorcando Peros – yeros
quien dar yço a las mulatas – natas
todas estas papanatas
an de uenir a parar
en que el diablo a de llevar
tributos yeros y natas

No ay para tanta malizia – Justizia
ni p^a tantos agrauios – labios
ni para tantas locuras – Curas
todas estas desuenturas
los Cristianos Padezemos
Pues que ya sin fuerça bemos
Justicia labios y curas

Who was hanged from a beam? – An artilleryman.
On what was that action based? – On the slave-girl.
Of what did the homicide deprive him? – His life.

Unjustly lost

It was; but still I lament

That he should lose in one moment –

That artilleryman – his slave-girl and his life.

He who thought to pay from his profits – tributes;
And he who in hanging dogs saw – fetters;
And he who caused the mulatto women to bear –
daughters:

All these simpletons

Must come to a halt;

Because the devil will carry off –

Tributes, fetters, and daughters.⁹

For so great malice, there is no – justice;
Nor for so many injuries – words;
Nor for so many follies – cures.¹⁰

All these misfortunes,

We Christians must suffer;

For powerless we see –

Justice, words, and cures.

⁹ This is a very obscure stanza, although the allusions were doubtless well understood in Manila. The second line might be translated “And who in hanging apples, saw tares;” although the translation as given above is to be preferred.

¹⁰ There is evidently a play on the word “cura,” which may mean either “cures,” or “priests” [*i.e.*, “cures”]. The meaning of the last line seems to refer to the ecclesiastical term.

Que resulta en conclusion – Resoluzion
y destas cosas no buenas – Penas
y de tanto descontento – tormento
No en bano yo me lamento
Viendo la yglesia sinzera
a ques otra por corquera
Pasion penas y tormento.

What results finally? – Resolution.

And from these evil things? – Punishments.

And from so great discontent? – Torment.

Not in vain do I lament,

Seeing the sincere¹¹ Church

Become otherwise because of Corcuera –

Suffering, punishments, and torment.

¹¹ This may be another play on words, for “sinzera” may be the adjective “sincere” or the two words “sin zera,” “waxless,” and hence in this last meaning, an allusion to the third line of the third stanza.

LETTERS FROM GOVERNOR HURTADO DE CORCUERA

Ecclesiastical

Most potent Sir:

Although I have related to the tribunal of the holy Inquisition of Mexico the disorders that have happened in this city this year which were caused by the fathers of St. Dominic, and helped and strengthened by the father commissary of the Holy Office, Fray Francisco de Herrera—who has endeavored to avenge his passions and those of his religious through the authority of so holy a tribunal, but overstepping the manner of procedure and prudence that that holy tribunal has in all its actions—yet I have thought it best to have recourse to your Highness as to the supreme authority, so that you with the ruling hand may apply an efficacious remedy to the said disorders. Therefore, I shall give your Highness an account of them in this letter, in detail, although briefly.

The archbishop of Manila and the three orders of St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Augustine, were united against me. They went about holding meetings, as they thought by that method to avenge themselves for the injuries which they imagined that they had received because they were not granted whatever they wished or what suited their whims. They

were convened in an assembly, where they must have discussed nothing else than their own restless notions and the disturbance of the community and opposition to the government. For that reason, the bishop of Nueva Segovia, Don Fray Diego Duarte, with the ecclesiastical cabildo, all the clergy, and the fathers of the Society of Jesus, refused to attend the said meeting. The archbishop and the three orders were very angry that the fathers of the Society did not attend, although they took no notice of the fact that the bishop of Nueva Segovia, the ecclesiastical cabildo, and the clergy (who also were notified to attend the meeting) were likewise absent; and they made their anger evident, since the first topic that was discussed in the said meeting was [a plan to unite] and conspire against the fathers of the Society. They issued a decree against them (which I enclose herewith)¹² in which they disfellowshipped them from the other orders, and commanded that no one should go to their houses, or to feasts or other public ceremonies; that those of the Society should not be admitted into their convents for these functions; that they should not be allowed to preach in the cathedral, or in any other place outside their own houses; and other things like this. They all show the aversion and even hatred which they have for the fathers of the Society. That decree was a cause for great scandal throughout this community. It was approved and signed by the said father commissary, Fray Francisco de Herrera, thus making himself a party to all the quarrels and disturbances that resulted from the said decree. Consequently, he could ill be a dispassionate judge. The fathers of the

¹² This has been already given in VOL. XXV, pp. 216-219.

Society were silent, and overlooked such things, coming from that source. Some days afterward, the archbishop, in accordance with the decision of the said meeting, had the fathers of the Society notified of an act, ordering them, under penalty of major excommunication, *late sentencie*, and a fine of four thousand Castilian ducados, not to preach outside of their houses throughout his archbishopric, not even in the barracks and guardhouses. The fathers of the Society tried to procure means of peace, but none of them succeeded. Seeing that there was no hope of peace, and recognizing the injury that the archbishop was doing them at the instigation of the three orders and the father commissary, they were forced to speak out against the archbishop through their judge-conservator, Don Fabian de Santillan y Gavilanes, schoolmaster of this holy church and a person of good standing in this city. The three orders, especially that of St. Dominic, took this cause against the fathers of the Society as their own – although it did not concern them, but was, on the contrary, in favor of all. The fathers of the Society were defending what the orders were defending, since they were defending their privileges and immunities, which are common to all the mendicant orders. But the orders did not think of this, nor that they were putting out both their eyes (as says the proverb) in order to put out one of the Society. The aversion and hatred that they show against the fathers of the Society is incredible, doing them all the ill turns possible in all things, and talking maliciously of them. The orders had recourse by a plea of fuerza to the royal Audiencia, which declared that the judge-conservator had not employed it, and that he

was legally appointed. Thereupon, seeing that they had no means by which to embarrass the judge-conservator, they tried to make use of the authority of the Inquisition, the fathers of St. Dominic threatening the judge-conservator with it. Those fathers spread the report that they would seize him, and get even with him. At this juncture the father commissary summoned him, and such was the aspect of affairs that the said judge asked the said commissary for a testimony that he had not been summoned for anything that could prejudice his person, in order that he might not be left with any stain. The judge-conservator had made complaint against the provisor, Don Pedro de Monroy, for having declared that neither Luther nor Calvin, nor any other heretics, did so much harm as did the members of the Society. That was a calumny and insult, the remedy for which the judge thought concerned him. The father commissary entered the lists, and asked for that cause. The judge sent him the original complaint, reserving the testimony, to present it to the holy tribunal of Mexico. The said father commissary asked for the testimony, and it was also sent him. The purpose of the father commissary seems to have been to deprive him of all the papers, as your Highness will see from the following.

At this juncture the archbishop held a meeting with the religious of the three orders of St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Augustine. There under title of a protest, an insulting defamatory libel was made, according to report, not only against the Society of Jesus, but also against the judge-conservator himself, because he was judge-conservator; and against the royal Audiencia, because it had declared his

appointment legitimate. The judge-conservator brought force to bear against the archbishop in order to make him hand over the protest, but the latter steadfastly refused to do so, or to show it. Finally, although the archbishop agreed to deliver it, he could not do so, because he had given it to father Fray Diego Collado, of the Order of St. Dominic. The latter kept possession of it, in such wise that it could never be recovered from him; and it is even said (although I am not sure of this) that the said paper had been delivered to the father commissary in order to secure it, so that he might keep it with the papers of the Inquisition. For, as the judge was urging the archbishop, the father commissary entangled the affair by ordering the judge, with censures, to relinquish the cause, and cease to ask for the said protest, and to hand over the papers that had been made in this matter. The judge, seeing the malice of the father commissary in preventing his jurisdiction, and taking from him all the papers, continued to defend himself – and asking the father commissary not to hinder his proceedings, since the trial of the said protest or defamatory libel belonged to him, as it was an insult to the Society, to the judge himself, and to the royal Audiencia, and as it was a matter that concerned the principal cause. A thousand notifications were served on the judge, and all of them by means of different Dominican fathers, and with great noise and disturbance – a matter which caused much comment, that one commissary should have so many different secretaries, some of them being lay brothers, others priests, and others very young; and that they should disturb the com-

munity with their passions, under the mantle of the Inquisition.

The said defamatory protest or libel was authenticated by a royal clerk named Diego de Rueda. The judge-conservator arrested him. The father commissary went to ask for him, with censures, as he declared that the clerk was a familiar of the Holy Office. The judge replied that he had arrested the clerk to get his confession, because of the said protest which he had authenticated; that he had already taken that confession, and needed him no longer; and that the father commissary should ask me for him, for I had arrested him. The father commissary replied that he was not satisfied with that reply, and that the clerk should be given to him. But the judge answered by producing proof that he did not hold the clerk prisoner, and could not hand him over. Thereupon, it appears that the father commissary calmed himself, and turned upon me in good earnest. At the earliest light he sent a youthful and somewhat impudent friar to me, to notify me of the act – which I enclose herewith¹⁸ so that your Highness may see whether this is the way to treat one who occupies such a post as I, and whom his Majesty has delegated in his place. Considering that the cause pertained to me, because that clerk had committed an offense in the exercise of his duty, and that the father commissary was exceeding his commission – and still more did he whom the father commissary sent to notify me so discourteously and impudently – I took the act from his hands, and sent him to his superior of the convent at the port of Cavite, with orders to keep

¹⁸ See this paper in VOL. XXV, pp. 243-244.

him there and reduce him to order, as I did not wish him to excite the community, as the friars were doing.

The fathers of St. Dominic took opportunity from this occurrence to utter blasphemies against me, and to declare me excommunicated for preventing the exercise of the Holy Office (as if the preservation of the royal jurisdiction would be a hindrance to that holy tribunal, which only undertakes what concerns it) – saying that I was deposed, and was not governor, nor could I be governor. They declared that the senior auditor should immediately assume the government, arrest me, and send me to a fort. They confirmed this by the father commissary bringing from Cavite father Fray Francisco Pinelo – an eloquent man, and a bold preacher in the pulpit – whom he caused to preach in his convent in this city on the second Sunday in Advent. At the beginning of his sermon, he proceeded to read a bull, translated into Romance. He declared that it was issued by Pius V, and that his Holiness ordered therein that whoever should prevent the exercise of the Holy Office should be infamous, and incapacitated from holding office. This he said with such words and manner, and at such a time, that it had the effect of pointing me out with the finger; and it was seen clearly that everything was said for me, and that he was censuring me as infamous, and saying that I was not governor. In order that your Highness may see the freedom of these friars, and how they treat him who is in the place of king – and this under cover of the Inquisition, using the authority of so holy and upright a tribunal to avenge their passions in matters that do not concern the Inquisition; and they cannot see that

to support it I have a sword at my side with which to fight to the death in defense of this holy tribunal, as I have done for twenty-five years in your Highness's service against the enemies of the faith – in this same sermon, a thousand things were said against me, calling me Herod; and against the royal Audiencia because it declared, contrary to the will of the father commissary, that the judge-conservator was legal. Aspersions were uttered against the fathers of the Society, censuring them as heretics; and against the judge himself, calling him a London canon, besides a thousand other impudent speeches in the same manner. Other preachers of his order have followed the same style of preaching, and they have been imitated by the Recollect fathers of St. Augustine – who style those of the Society hypocrites and heretics; and they utter innumerable satires on them in the pulpits, making the pulpit a lectureship of vengeance, although it is the place that belongs to Christ for the preaching of His holy word. How could the father commissary remedy these disorderly acts, since he was at the head of them, and since they were by his order, as can be understood from the above?

In this manner did they disturb and stir up the people, and even excited them to revolt – so that if I had not had arms in my hands, and the garrison which is here at my order, beyond question a greater calamity would have been feared; and I fear one, if your Highness do not take it in hand, and make a beginning in correcting such acts of boldness. I will add that I had given orders at the gates of the city that the said cleric Don Pedro de Monroy was not to be allowed to enter, as he was a seditious man, and in union with the friars he was exciting innumerable

rumors and disputes in this city; and in the time of Governor Don Alonso Faxardo he was declared exiled from the kingdoms, and the temporalities had been taken away from him, because of a riot that he caused. It happened on November 21 of the past year, that he, clad as a Franciscan friar, together with another of the same order as his companion, attempted to enter a gate at the Ave Marias. The commandant, who recognized him, laid hold of him, and ordered the soldiers to take their weapons in order to prevent his entrance, and to obey their orders. But so many Dominican friars (who were prepared for that emergency), charged down upon them and defended the said cleric with their fists and with violence; and forcing my guardhouse, they placed him within the city, in spite of the soldiers, who had no opportunity to use their weapons. That appears from a legal investigation which they made in their exoneration, for I was intending to punish them for not having kept my order. I was angry, as was natural, at that lawless act and the boldness of the friars. I advised their superior of it; but he answered that that friar had entered the city because he had been summoned by the Inquisition and its commissary. For, even for such an outrage, which would have been worthy of punishment in any other, those friars take as a cloak such a holy institution as is the Inquisition – as if it were not proper to advise me, and not to force my guardhouse, even though it were a matter for the Inquisition. For it is certain that in all that pertains to that holy tribunal, the father commissary must find in me all protection and aid. But I was told nothing except that the force

and violence was practiced of which I have given an account. It is to be presumed that it was not a matter that pertained to so holy and righteous a tribunal; but to say that it was a matter of the Inquisition was only a pretext and excuse for an act of boldness like that. And in order that your Highness may see more clearly what I state, the viceroy of Nueva España, the marquis de Cerralbo, sent a surgeon named Don Garcia to this country for his crimes. He came, condemned to serve for eight years at the will of the governor, without pay. But as I had need of him to go in the fleet of galleons that I was despatching to the forts of Terrenate, I tried to have him prepare for that service. He took refuge in the convent of St. Dominic, where the fathers aided and protected him. One of them, named Fray Francisco de Paula, told me that among the multitude of my affairs that were to be treated by the Inquisition was the fact that I was trying to send the said Francisco Garcia in the fleet, as its surgeon, since he was a familiar of the Holy Office. I had not known that before, and I think that it is not so, since the viceroy, in the presence of the tribunal of the holy Inquisition of Mexico, condemned him and sent him here; or else his cause was such that, even though he was a familiar of the Holy Office, that holy tribunal did not think it advisable to prevent the punishment imposed by the viceroy. And although the tribunal of Mexico, notwithstanding its so great power, refused to prevent that punishment, a friar tries to prevent it here and opposes me, the governor, and protects even a criminal from me – not so much to protect him, as to turn upon and

oppose me. In truth, Sir, this is a grievous thing, namely, that in whatever desires or whims these friars have, and for whomever they wish to be aided and protected for them against the governor, they immediately find a path by way of the Inquisition.

Those fathers gave the final touch to those annoyances by taking from me, to my great vexation, a goodly number of sailors and some soldiers, who had received their pay in order to make the voyage in the said fleet of galleons to Terrenate. One or two friars of St. Dominic fled with them in a boat and went by way of Macajar to India, in order to go to España with serious complaints, as I am told, for your Highness. However, the path that they are taking is very apt to lead them into the hands of the Dutch or of the many other enemies who infest the seas of Yndia. It is said, and I regard it as certain, that that was the plan of the father commissary of the Holy Office; and at least he concurred in and had a part in it. Let your Highness consider the boldness and freedom of those friars in recklessly entering a matter which is so to the disservice of your Highness; and it is a kind of treason to take away the people who are in your service, and who have been already paid to go in the royal fleet.

Many other things of this sort and of this same kind could be related to your Highness, and all need the same remedy. It is one which I think efficacious for the prevention of greater damages, namely, that your Highness distinctly order the holy Inquisition of Mexico to appoint no friar of any order as their commissary in these islands, but some secular, since this function belongs to such. By that means many

troubles would be avoided, and greater disorders, which may be feared if the friars act as commissaries, would be obviated; and we shall have the peace that is desired among your people. I entreat your Highness to be pleased to consider this matter, and how necessary is what I represent for the exercise of so holy a tribunal, and for your Highness's service; for I shall not assure you that the islands will be free from any confusion or insurrection unless reform is given, and it is at least certain that we shall never have peace [otherwise]. And since this holy tribunal always brings peace to the kingdoms where it is just, will your Highness do this for me, and grant this request?

I petition the above from you in consideration of the above mentioned causes; and because my uncle, the inquisitor, Don Pedro Hurtado de Gabiria – who served for thirty years in the Inquisition of the Canarias, Granada, and Lograño, and in the royal Council as fiscal and inquisitor – having reared me until I was old enough to go to serve your Highness in the States of Flandes, in the course of his training taught me to obey, to venerate, and to respect so holy a tribunal. And wherever I have been since then, when your Highness sent me from the States of Flandes to Piru, and thence to govern the kingdom of Tierra Firme at Panama, the Inquisitions of the said Piru and Cartaxena, and (when I passed through Mexico) that of Nueva España, have shown me, for my great respect, courtesy, and submission, many honors and favors for which I shall always be grateful – as also to your Highness, from whom I hope for greater honors. May our Lord preserve

your Highness in your grandeur. Manila, the last of June, 1636. Sire, your vassal kisses your Majesty's feet.

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

[The letter is followed by the appended documents:]

[The act of October 9, 1635, directed against the Society of Jesus, which will be found in the "Letter written by a citizen of Manila," VOL. XXV, pp. 216-219. In the present document, the act is followed by the following:]

Collated with the original records which are in possession of his Excellency, and which I attest. Manila, October ten, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five.

The bachelor JOAN FULGENCIO, notary.

This copy was collated with the copy of the original which is authenticated by the bachelor, Joan Fulgencio, notary of the archbishop of these islands, Don Fray Hernando Guerrero, which is in possession of Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, governor and captain-general of these islands. At his order I drew this copy. Manila, October seventeen, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five; witnesses being Simon Delgado, and Alferez Pedro de Arexita. In testimony of truth, I sealed and signed it.

ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO,
notary of the royal crown.

We, the undersigned notaries, attest that Andres Martin del Arroyo, by whom this testimony appears to be signed and sealed, is a royal notary; and, as

such, entire faith and credit has been and is given, in and out of court, to the writings, acts, and other papers, which have passed, and pass, before him. So that that may be evident, we give the present. Manila, June eighteen, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

AUGUSTO DE VALENZUELO, notary-public.

FRANCISCO DE RUEDA, royal notary.

SEBASTIAN DAMAS, notary of the assembly.

[The order presented to the governor by the commissary of the Inquisition, Francisco de Herrera, November 26, 1635, and already presented in VOL. XXV, pp. 243-244, follows. In the present document, it is followed by the attestation of the notary, Andres del Arroyo (dated April 26, 1636), who made the present copy from the original presented to the governor by the commissary. Following his attestation is one by the three notaries, Baptista de Espinosa, Alonso Baeza del Rio, and Francisco de Casares, attesting the copy of Arroyo.]

In the city of Manila, April two, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six, Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, knight of the Order of Alcantara, member of his Majesty's Council, his governor and captain-general of these Philipinas Islands, and president of the royal Audiencia therein, declared that Licentiate Manuel Suarez de Olivera entered a complaint against Alferez Don Francisco de Rivera, the corporal of the soldiers of the guard at the gate of Santo Domingo, for having allowed Licentiate Don Pedro de Monrroy to enter this city, contrary to the order

of his Lordship; and because it appeared that the said Don Pedro, accompanied by other persons and disguised in the habit of a Franciscan friar, entered through the said gate, although the said corporal recognized and stopped him and obstructed his entrance, calling the guard. But the said Don Pedro forced his way through the guard violently, and entered the convent of St. Dominic, of this city. For that reason the said corporal and the soldiers with him were not condemned. And in order that his Majesty may know what happened in this matter, and order his pleasure, the governor ordered Juan Soriano, notary-public, before whom the said complaint was made, to give two or three authorized copies of it. Thus did he enact and order, and he affixed his signature.

Before me:

FRANCISCO DE ORTEGA

Head of the process. In the city of Manila, November twenty-one, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, Licentiate Manuel Suarez de Olivera, auditor-general of war, declared that it had come to his notice that although the governor and captain-general of these islands had ordered that no corporal at the gates of the city should allow Licentiate Don Pedro de Monrroy to enter this city, Alferez Don Francisco de Rivera, corporal at the gate of Santo Domingo, with three soldiers had allowed him to enter into the said city contrary to the said order. In order that he might chastise the aforesaid corporal and the others who appeared to be guilty, the auditor ordered the said complaint to be entered, with a process according to military

usage, and that the witnesses should be examined according to the tenor of it. Thus did he enact, and he affixed his signature.

LICENTIATE MANUEL SUAREZ DE OLIVERA

Before me:

JUAN SORIANO, notary-public.

Then the said investigation passed to the said auditor-general, who caused Domingo de Ayamonte, who has been alférez and is a soldier of the company of the master-of-camp, to appear before him. I, the present notary, received from him the oath in due form of law before God our Lord, and with the sign of the cross; and under that obligation he promised to tell the truth. Being questioned, in accordance with the head of the process, he declared that he was a witness of what occurred. He declared that in regard to the said order contained in the head of the process, he did not know it, and that he had not stood guard in this city or in any other place, as he had but lately come from the island of Hermosa. What this witness saw was, that while he was seated outside the gate of Santo Domingo he heard a noise on the part of the wall inside the city, and that some person was calling out to the guard. Upon going to see who was calling, and hastening to take part in whatever might arise, he found that the one calling was Alférez Don Francisco de Rivera, the corporal; and that the friars of St. Dominic and three of St. Francis were leading him a lively dance, dealing him many knocks and blows with their fists. After the noise had subsided, this witness asked what the matter was; and some soldiers whom he does not know told him that they had the order mentioned in

the said head of the process, and that the said Don Pedro had entered clad as a religious of St. Francis. This witness knows nothing else, nor what soldiers were at the gate; for, as he has but recently arrived, he knows no one. He declared this to be the truth, on the oath that he has taken, and affirmed and ratified it, and declared that he is fifty years old and competent to be a witness. He did not affix his signature, as he could not write. The said auditor-general signed it.

LICENTIATE MANUEL SUAREZ DE OLIVERA
Before me:

JUAN SORIANO

In the city of Manila, on the said day, November twenty-one, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, the said auditor-general caused Pedro Gutierrez, a soldier of the company of the master-of-camp, to appear before him for the said proof. I, the present notary, received from him the oath in due form of law, before God our Lord and with the sign of the cross; and under that obligation he promised to tell the truth. Being questioned, in accordance with the head of the process, he declared that what he knows and what passes is as follows: On this the said day, after nightfall, and while the witness was on guard with the corporal, Alférez Don Francisco de Rivera, at the gate of Santo Domingo of this said city; at that time there were two Dominican religious outside the gate and two others on the inside—lay brothers of the said order; and at the same time a small champan, with three other religious of St. Francis, arrived. Having disembarked, they asked for a jug of water; and answer was given them to

enter the city and drink. While they were entering the city by the said gate, the said alferez and corporal thought that one of the said Franciscans was walking somewhat as if he wished to be unknown. Recognizing him, he began to call out to the guard and to lay hold of the Franciscan. The witness, having hastened, saw many religious who were fighting the said corporal and the other soldiers with their fists. They did that with this witness, for they gave him many blows and tore his jerkin and shirt from him, showering many insulting words upon this witness and the others. At this juncture he heard the said corporal say that Don Pedro de Monrroy was one of the said friars who was clad in the habit of St. Francis. This witness knows that the order contained in the said head of the process was given to him and the others at the said gate, so that they might not allow the said Don Pedro de Monrroy to enter thereby. This witness saw that two of the three Franciscan religious who came in the said small champan, and entered this city, tried to go out, and that one of them was left inside. All the above is the truth, on the oath that he has taken. He affirmed and ratified his deposition, and declared that he is forty years of age and competent to be a witness. He signed the above, together with the said auditor-general. Further this witness who has made his deposition declares that he saw that a crowd of Dominican friars came out, by a little bridge which extends to the guardhouse, and joined the others whom he had mentioned; and these latter are the ones who maltreated the said corporal and the other soldiers. He affirmed that, etc. This witness believes that even if they had had many more soldiers,

they could not have resisted the said religious, because of the great force with which they defended the said Don Pedro de Monrroy.

LICENTIATE DON MANUEL SUAREZ OLIVERA
PEDRO GUTIERREZ

Before me:

JUAN SORIANO, notary-public.

In the city of Manila, on the said day, November twenty-one, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, the said auditor of war caused Manuel de Campos, a soldier of the company of the master-of-camp, to appear before him for the said investigation. I, the present notary, received from him the oath in due form of law, before God our Lord, and with the sign of the cross; and under that obligation he promised to tell the truth. Being questioned as to the tenor of the process, this witness declared that what he knows and what occurred is as follows: He knows that the order contained in the head of the process was given at the gate of Santo Domingo. On the above date, after nightfall, as he was at his post, and with orders from Alférez Don Francisco de Rivera, the corporal at the said gate, there were at that time, outside the said gate three Dominican religious and one secular, and inside one Dominican lay brother. At that juncture came a small champan with three religious of St. Francis aboard, who joined those others who were outside; and all together began to enter by the said gate – the two Franciscans, and one muffled in his mantle. The said commandant came up and looked sharply at the one who was muffled up in the said mantle, saying to him, “I pray you, Father, to uncover.” The latter answered, “He who meddles

in this is a base villain;" and, lowering his head, the said commandant recognized the said Pedro de Monrroy. Seizing him, he called out, "Ho, the guard!" This witness hastened to him, and laid hold of the friar whom the said corporal had seized. At that same instant, the father guardian of Dilao gave him a blow; while many other friars, who were behind the gate which leads to the convent, charged down upon the said corporal and this witness, and dealt them many blows - dragging them even to the doors of the church, and saying many insulting words to them, telling them that they were excommunicated rogues, who were committing a very great outrage against the Church. Things were in that condition when the said corporal ordered that witness to go to report to the sargento-mayor; and he did so. The above is the truth, on the oath that he has taken. He affirmed all the above, and declared that he is thirty years old, and competent to be a witness. He signed it, together with the said auditor-general:

LICENTIATE MANUEL SUAREZ DE OLIVERA,
master-of-camp.

JUAN SORIANO, notary-public.

In the said city of Manila, November twenty-one, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, the said auditor-general caused a [certain] man arrested for this complaint to appear before him, in order that he might take his deposition. I, the present notary, received the oath from him in due form of law, before God our Lord and with the sign of the cross; and under that obligation he promised to tell the truth. Being questioned, he stated and declared the

following. Being asked his name, his age, and his calling and why he is arrested, he stated and declared that his name is Don Francisco de Rivera y Oseguera; that he is a soldier of the company of Don Lorenzo de Olaso; that he is twenty-nine years old; and that the reason for his arrest was that, having entered this day to guard the Parián, this deponent went as corporal to guard the gate of Santo Domingo, with orders not to allow Don Pedro de Monrroy to enter by the said gate. While he was at the said gate, and three Dominican religious were outside of it, and inside it one, at that juncture arrived a small champan, with three religious of St. Francis. They and the others started to enter the said gate, all with their faces covered. In the midst of them was a Franciscan friar muffled in his mantle. On that account this deponent was mistrustful, and going to him said: "I pray you, Father, to uncover." Thereupon the father shrank further within his mantle, but the deponent, going nearer, recognized that it was Don Pedro de Monrroy, who was disguised as a Franciscan friar; and this deponent, grappling with him, called out for the guard. Thereupon, one of the said religious attacked the said Don Francisco, and shoved him about, and struck him. And after the said [Franciscans] came many other Dominican religious, who came out of their convent (which is near the guardhouse); and they began to drag this deponent and the other soldiers to the door of the church. That made the soldiers let go of the said Don Pedro de Monrroy; for, even had there been many more soldiers, the religious would have taken him away, as there were many of them, and they came headlong to the en-

counter. He had a report of all the above made to the sargento-mayor. This, and naught else, is the cause of his arrest; and this is his answer. This deponent being asked whether he saw the disembarkation of the said Don Pedro de Monrroy from the champan, and whether he knew that he was coming disguised as a Franciscan friar before he entered the gate, he declared that he did not know it, as night had already fallen; for if he had known it before his arrival at the said gate, he would have prevented his entrance or have shut the gate, and have tried with all his might to obey the order given him. And he would have done that, had not the said friars hastened to him. He stated that he recognized the said Don Pedro de Monrroy only as he was about to enter the said gate in the guardhouse, after which succeeded the aforesaid incidents. This is his response.

Being asked whether he knows the gravity of the offense which he commits who breaks any military order, this deponent declared that he knew it; but that he kept the said order to the utmost, and no more, because the emergency that he has related occurred. This is his response.

Being asked whether he knows and recognizes that the said religious were aided by any secular persons in getting the said Don Pedro de Monroy inside the gate, he declared that he had not seen or recognized any secular persons except the said soldiers, his companions, who aided him, and the said religious. This is his response.

Other questions were asked and brought forward touching the matter; but to all he answered that which he has declared as above, under obligation of

the oath that he has sworn. He affixed his signature, together with the auditor-general.

LICENTIA TE MANUEL SUAREZ DE OLIVERA
DON FRANCISCO DE RIVERA Y OSEGUERA

Before me:

JUAN SORIANO, notary-public.

[The following is contained in the documents enclosed, in another letter of like date with the above letter (also by Corcuera to the king, and which will be given, *post*), and gives details omitted by the present document.]

Act. In the city of Manila, November twenty-two, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, Licentiate Manuel Suarez de Olivera, auditor-general of the war department of this royal camp, declared that it is advisable, for the greater justification of this complaint, to make investigation among the persons who were about the guardhouse at the gate of Santo Domingo of this city, in order to ascertain and find out more fully what happened last night at the said gate, by examining more of the witnesses who were present or who knew something of the aforesaid; and that the present notary should record the results as a testimony in this cause, so that it might be apparent for all time. Thus did he enact and order, and he signed the same.

LICENTIA TE MANUEL SUAREZ DE OLIVERA

Before me:

JUAN SORIANO

Testimony. In fulfilment of the above act, I, Juan Soriano, notary-public, one of the registered notaries of this city of Manila, in the Filipinas Islands, for

the king our lord, attest and assert truthfully to those who may see these presents that on this day of the above date, at the hour of ten in the morning or thereabout, I, in company with the said auditor-general, went to the gate of Santo Domingo of this said city, where there is generally a guardhouse of soldiers. I made an investigation among the persons near the said gate, and asked them whether any of them were present at what is contained in these records, and which happened at this gate last night, which is reckoned the twenty-first of this month. No one was found who could tell me anything about the aforesaid; and I gave the present because of what is contained in the commandment of the said auditor-general. Given in the city of Manila, November twenty-two, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five. Witness, the said constable, Francisco Gutierrez. I seal it in testimony of the truth,

JUAN SORIANO, notary-public.

Act of accusation and proof. In the city of Manila, November twenty-two, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five,¹⁴ Licentiate Manuel Suarez de Olivera, auditor-general of the war department of this royal camp, declared that having examined this complaint and the verbal process and investigation of it, he would charge – and he did charge – the said alferez Don Francisco de Rivera with what has resulted against him from the said verbal process; and that he would immediately receive – and he did

¹⁴ Continuing from this point, the present document resumes. It is probable that the part omitted in the present document was originally a portion of it; but, being written on a loose sheet of paper, has suffered the fate common to many documents and portions of documents in Spanish archives, and been lost.

receive – this suit and complaint and the parties to it, for proof within the time-limit of the two days next following, common to the said parties, with all responsibility of publication and direction, and all the rest, with citation. Within that time, they may prove and investigate whatever is expedient for them, and be cited in due form for sentence. Thus did he enact and order, and he signed the same; and the witnesses of the verbal process shall be notified before the said auditor-general, etc.

LICENTIAE MANUEL SUAREZ DE OLIVERA

Before me:

JUAN SORIANO, notary-public.

Notification. In the city of Manila, November twenty-two, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, I gave notice of the above act of proof, according to its contents, to Alférez Don Francisco de Rivera, in his own person. He declared that he has no more proof to give than what he has given already; for, when the affair occurred, there were no other witnesses than the soldiers his companions, who have told and sworn the truth of what occurred. He gave the above as his reply, and I attest the same.

JUAN SORIANO, notary-public.

Ratification. In the city of Manila, November twenty-two, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, the said auditor of war caused Pedro Gutierrez, a soldier of the company of the master-of-camp, to appear before himself. I, the present notary, received an oath from him in due form of law, before God our Lord and with the sign of the cross. He promised to tell the truth, and, under that obliga-

tion, his testimony and the deposition that he made last night, the twenty-first of this month, before Licentiate Manuel Suarez de Olivera, auditor-general of war, and before me, the present notary, having been read and shown to him, he, having understood and read it word for word, declared that all therein contained, exactly as it is written and testified, was declared and asserted by him; and that the signature at the foot is in the hand and writing of this witness, and he recognizes it as such. If necessary, he again declares it in this plenary act, and he affirms and ratifies it in every point. He affixes his signature, and declares that he is forty years old, and competent to act as a witness. It is signed by the said auditor,

LICENTIAATE SUAREZ
PEDRO GUTIERREZ

Before me:

JUAN SORIANO

[A like declaration is received from the soldier Martin de Campos.]

Act. In the city of Manila, November twenty-five, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, Licentiate Manuel Suarez de Olivera, auditor-general of the war department of this royal camp, having examined this complaint which he made officially, for the royal justice of war, against Alférez Don Francisco de Rivera, in regard to his allowing Don Pedro de Monrroy to enter the gate of Santo Domingo of this city, while he was corporal at it, in violation of his orders from the governor and captain-general, Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, to the effect that he was not to allow him to enter this city, etc., said that

in consideration of what had been recounted by the investigation of this cause, the said *alférez* was not guilty in regard to the said entrance. On the contrary, he had done everything in accordance with his obligation to keep the said order. The auditor said that he declared – and he did so declare – the said *alférez* to be free and acquitted from the said charge; and said that he had done what his duty demanded in the fulfilment of his order, as a faithful soldier. By this act so did he enact, and he signed the same.

LICENTIA TE MANUEL SUAREZ DE OLIVERA

Before me:

JUAN SORIANO, notary-public.

Remission in testimony of truth.

JUAN SORIANO, notary-public.

Fees gratis.

[An attestation of the authenticity of all matters that pass before Juan Soriano, dated November 29, 1635,¹⁵ and signed by three notaries, follows.]

Sire:

Justice in this country was in the worst [possible] condition, because no one looked to your Majesty for it, and some of your vassals were committing outrages on others without fear of God or respect for your Majesty's officials. There was great license and looseness of life, in both men and women. That has been corrected by exiling some of the men, and arresting others; and by rebuking and threatening the women of quality, and sheltering others of less standing, in the seminary of Santa Potenciana, until

¹⁵ One of our two copies of this attestation bears date July 29, 1635, and the other November 19, 1635. We have adopted the date above, as being more probably the correct one, errors in the transcripts being due to the poor writing of the original.

they are sought in marriage from that house. I have done that with despatch, considering only the service of God and of your Majesty. By that means many of the laymen have been restrained, as well as many of the ecclesiastical estate and regulars, who likewise have caused scandal in this direction. Two men have been punished by hanging—one for having stolen the monstrance of the most holy sacrament; and the other for the murder of a slave girl whom he had owned, and whom the archbishop had caused to be sold because he was living with her in illicit relations. In order that he might not be deprived of her, he declared that he would marry her, although he had said the year before that he had been married in Nueva España. The slave girl said that she preferred to belong to another than to be his wife. The slave girl going carelessly behind her mistress's carriage, that man, deliberately and very securely, approached her by stealth; and, embracing her from behind, he stabbed and killed her treacherously. He took refuge in the convent of St. Augustine, where neither the master-of-camp nor the sargento-mayor could find him. But a few days after that, when the affair had died down somewhat, because of the reward offered to my adjutant of the camp, the latter found him and took him from the convent. I referred the cause to the general of artillery, as the man was his subordinate, so that he might try it in the first instance. The general condemned him to death. He appealed to his commander-in-chief; but the auditor-general returned the cause, saying that it had no appeal, as he was convinced of the man's treachery and perfidy. Thereupon the general of artillery set about the execution of the sentence of

death. The archbishop of this church excommunicated the general of artillery; and his provisor, one Don Pedro de Monrroy, a restless man, and a friend of revolution, sent twice to excommunicate me. But I gave them no opportunity to notify me at all. They declared interdicts and the cessation of divine services. The sentence was executed, and the dead man was returned to the door of the church. I wrote to the archbishop with all courtesy, entreating him to be pleased to have the churches opened, and not to leave this community without mass and consolation on a day such as the nativity of our Lady; and that, as justice was already done, there was nothing else to do. The archbishop called a meeting of the religious of all the orders. They thinking in this way to avenge themselves for insults that they imagined they had received – the fathers of St. Dominic because I did not allow them to place benches in the principal chapel of their church when the royal Audiencia was present, for other persons, and on matters touching the communal funds [of the Sangleys]; those of St. Francis, because of the hospitals; and those of St. Augustine, because of what I had already written – carried the torch into that meeting, making a political argument from the fact that the archbishop and I were at swords' points. Accordingly, they were of the opinion that the censures should be raised under no circumstances, and they talked very unbecomingly of my person. Only the fathers of the Society defended the royal jurisdiction, being followed by one of the Franciscans. They showed clearly that the execution that had been performed was a good thing, as the murder had clearly been a treacherous one. Therefore the other re-

ligious gave them cause for merit by uttering insults toward them; and from that instant took so great an aversion to them that it was the beginning of the disturbances that happened afterward. I went twice and thrice to request the archbishop to raise the interdict and the cessation of mass, but he was so far from doing it that he even refused to answer my letters. So I left him; but afterward, for certain reasons or at the request of others, he raised the censures and interdict, and absolved the general of artillery *ad cautelam* – for the latter did not consider himself as excommunicated, nor did learned men even consider him as such. That was very evident; for, having appealed to the bishop of Camarines, the sentence was in his favor, and he was absolved from the pecuniary fines imposed by the archbishop.

Thereupon that tempest was quieted. The principal instigator of it had been the provisor, Don Pedro de Monrroy, and its fomentors were the religious of St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Augustine. I, recognizing the naturally turbulent spirit of the said provisor, thought that we would be involved in other storms soon, unless something were done to prevent it, and some scheme found so that he might not be provisor. For that purpose, I wrote the archbishop to observe a decree of your Majesty in which you order, in the time of Don Juan Niño de Tabora, that provisors be lettered, and that, since this man was not so, the office be given to another who was, thereby obeying your Majesty's orders. He did not answer me, but called a meeting of the religious of the three orders. All decided not to remove the provisor, and, in good Romance, not to obey the royal decree, but to oppose it – as they said,

even to the death, if necessary. In order that your Majesty may see for whom the archbishop and religious made so great a pledge, Don Pedro de Monroy is a secular priest, who does not possess, as your Majesty orders, the education that provisors must necessarily have (since he possesses no degree in any faculty); still more, it is apparent to this whole community that his house is a public gaming-house for all this city, where the gambling is so extravagant, and men lose their possessions so recklessly and preposterously that I am obliged to correct it efficaciously by forbidding all persons, under penalty of fines, from going to play in his house. He is a secular priest who says mass throughout the year, except now and then; and is, finally, a restless fellow and one who likes [to stir up] revolutions. In the time of Governor Don Alonso Faxardo, he was the cause of a great disturbance in the community, by excommunicating the auditors. He was sentenced to exile from the kingdoms for that reason and the temporalities were taken from him, as your Majesty will see by the enclosed testimony of the royal decree that was despatched for that purpose. But since justice in these islands is in the charge of protectors, the said decree, at the request of certain persons, was not executed. Although I might execute it, in order to cut the root of the disturbances, I did not do so, in order to obviate difficulties and murmurs in a community so small. Therefore, seeing that there was no other way that was milder, I offered the said provisor the chaplaincy-in-chief and vicariate of the island of Hermosa – as will appear by my letter and his reply, which I enclose herewith for your Majesty.¹⁶ That was with the intent of getting him away from Ma-

¹⁶ See these letters in VOL. XXV, pp. 207-208, 209-210.

nila, so that he might not embroil us. But that offer which I made to the said provisor aroused innumerable disputes. The archbishop declared that I was the violator of the ecclesiastical immunity. He immediately convoked a meeting of the religious, the ecclesiastical cabildo, and other seculars. The seculars, and the bishop of Nueva Segovia, Don Fray Diego Duarte, excused themselves – the fathers of the Society of Jesus, in very courteous terms, also begging to be excused from attending meetings where nothing else was discussed save opposition to the government. The archbishop and the members of the orders were so angry because the fathers of the Society did not attend that meeting (not taking into consideration at all that the bishop of Nueva Segovia and the ecclesiastical cabildo did not attend, either), that they turned against the said fathers of the Society. The first thing done in the said meeting was to enact an act which I enclose herewith.¹⁷ In it they are separated from the other orders, and the latter were prohibited from admitting the Jesuits into their convents for feasts or other ceremonies. The other orders were not to go to the convent of the Society for public ceremonies or for feasts; while those fathers could not preach in the cathedral, or in any other churches outside of their house, throughout this archbishopric – which was equal to exiling them from its territories. To such a height did passion – not to say the hate of the archbishop and orders – rise against the Society of Jesus, that one must pass by what was determined against them in the said meeting, in which all that was done was to discuss the government and royal jurisdiction.

The archbishop and the religious seeing that the

¹⁷ See *ante*, p. 61, note 12.

fathers of the Society were not disturbed – for which object the former were striving – because of the resolution made in the said meeting, the archbishop, twenty days later, sent a notary with a notification to the superiors of the Society, ordering that they should not preach outside their house, not even in the plazas and the guardhouses, under penalty of major excommunication, *late sentencie*, and a fine of four thousand ducados for the Holy Crusade – a thing which greatly scandalized all this community. The fathers of the Society answered with moderation that they would obey whatever was not contrary to the privileges and immunities given them by the Roman pontiffs; but that, since the tenor of this act was hostile to those rights, and manifest injuries were being caused to the Society – first, because all of them had been deprived of the preaching, without other fault than having defended the royal jurisdiction, and the truth; second, in ordering this with [penalty of] excommunication and pecuniary fines; third, by prohibiting them from giving instruction, even in the plazas and guardhouses – they were obliged to appoint a judge-conservator; for although they had tried all means of peace they had succeeded in none, or in finding any method by which peace could be secured. On the contrary, they were notified of another act on the part of the archbishop, on the third day after, ordering them not to instruct certain Indians, of whom they had legitimate control by provisions of two former prelates and of the royal patronage. From that they feared new notifications and insults, and therefore they appointed their judge-conservator on the second of November, of the past year 1635. He was a dignitary of this holy

church, one Don Fabian de Santillan y Gavilanes, a qualified person of this country, and son of a treasurer of the royal exchequer. The judge-conservator ordered the archbishop to take back the acts made against the Society of Jesus, as they were a manifest injury. The archbishop had recourse to the royal Audiencia with a plea of fuerza. The acts were requested, and the fathers of the Society went to maintain their just claims, as did those of the other orders on the part of the archbishop. For, although what the Society was defending was in favor of all the other orders, they did not think of that. On the contrary, they preferred to lose two eyes, in order as the saying is, to tear one from the Society—against whom the fear and aversion which they cherish is remarkable, as they show by word and deed. They do the Society ill turns whenever possible. After the secretary had made a report of the cause, those of the Society brought forward the arguments in favor of their side; they proved also that a manifest injury had been done them in the decrees of the archbishop, and that the judge-conservator was legally appointed. The religious, who had gone on the archbishop's behalf, had nothing to say, and asked for another day in which to state their case. The following day was granted them. They summoned many more religious, and six of them were heard in the archbishop's behalf. Those of the Society replied to what the others opposed to them, but those of the opposing side did not satisfactorily answer those of the Society. Thereupon, the royal Audiencia declared that the judge-conservator had not employed fuerza, and that he was legally appointed. Therefore, the latter continued to press the

archbishop with censures, in order to make him withdraw the acts issued against the Society. The archbishop did so; but, when the matter was in a condition to be disposed of and finished in a few days, it was discovered that the archbishop and some of the three said orders of St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Augustine, had held a conference, and had drawn up a defamatory libel under the title of a protest. They had included in it, according to public report, not only those of the Society, but also the judge-conservator himself, and the royal Audiencia, because they had passed judgment contrary to their will. That protest or libel was authenticated by a royal notary named Diego de Rueda, who is also a familiar of the Holy Office. The judge-conservator arrested him, and with the aid that he requested, the commissary of the Holy Office – who here is a Dominican father, named Fray Francisco de Herrera – went to ask the said judge-conservator for his familiar, the said notary. The judge-conservator answered that he had already taken his deposition, and had no further need of him; but that they should demand him from me, for he had been arrested by my order. I answered that he had been delinquent in the exercise of his duty, for having authenticated, as royal notary, a defamatory libel; and that the punishment therefor pertained to the royal jurisdiction.

The father commissary sent two young and impudent friars to me, to notify me of the act which I enclose herewith for your Majesty, and laid his orders on me as imperiously as if he were the supreme tribunal of the Inquisition. I, on the contrary, before the completion of the notification, took the act from the hands of his agent with mildness,

and sent him to the port of Cavite, charging his superior there to keep him in that place and treat him well. This I did purposely, because it is not proper for a youthful friar to talk with so great freedom to the representative of your Majesty – especially in a cause which is so peculiar to the royal jurisdiction as is this offense, which concerns the office of a notary.

On that account, the fathers of St. Domingo took occasion to utter blasphemies against me. They declared that I was excommunicated for hindering the service of the Inquisition; that I was deposed; that I was not governor; that I could not act as governor; that the senior auditor was to assume the government immediately; that he was to imprison me and lock me up in a fort. In confirmation of what they were saying throughout the city, they brought a friar from Cavite, named Fray Francisco Pinelo, whom, being bold, eloquent, and satirical in the pulpit (as is well known in this community), they caused to preach the second Sunday in Advent. He read a bull in the pulpit, which was said to be by Pius Fifth, and which was in Romance. Therein the pontiff orders that he who should prevent the exercise of the Holy Office should be infamous and incapacitated from office, etc. That he declared in such a tone and manner that it was clearly seen that it was all for the governor, and that he was censuring me as infamous. In order that your Majesty may see the license of the friars in this country, and how they treat those who exercise this office – and this under protection of the Inquisition, hiding under the authority of so holy a tribunal, to avenge their passions in things which, truly, neither belong to the

Inquisition nor are at all connected with it – in that same sermon, innumerable other things and satires were uttered against me and against the royal Audiencia for having declared, contrary to the pleasure of the friars, that the judge-conservator was not employing fuerza against the fathers of the Society, censuring them as heretics; and against the judge-conservator himself, calling him a canon of London. They have made use of this style of preaching in many sermons throughout this time. The Recollect fathers of St. Augustine imitated him, and I am told that this is no new thing; for whatever the governors do that is displeasing to them they immediately take into the pulpits, thus making the pulpit the professorship of vengeance, while it is the seat of Christ for the preaching of His holy word. The disorder that has always existed in this regard is very great, and the matter demands an efficacious remedy. What occurs to me is, for your Majesty to send a decree to the governor, ordering that, when the said orders preach in this manner, he shall advise their provincial, so that the latter may deprive them of the privilege of preaching, and exile them from Manila to whatever place shall be deemed best; and that, if the provincial shall not do so, then your Majesty should immediately take away the temporalities from all of such order, and should order the royal officials not to pay them anything, not even the stipends for the instruction. For that nothing more should be necessary than for the governor to order it. That decree should be sent, but with restrictions, so that it may be a check on them; for your Majesty has sent many decrees to the provincials, charging them not to preach whatever they please against the

governors, but they do not obey them. Your Majesty will see the importance of this matter, because those friars stir up and disquiet the country by these actions and sermons, and arouse hatred toward the governors.

The fathers of St. Dominic left no stone unturned. They drew up a paper, in which they spoke very discourteously of my person; and with it they presented a petition to the dean of this cathedral church – who, inasmuch as the archbishop had been excommunicated by the judge-conservator, was acting as provisor and vicar-general in it – asking him to declare and publish me in the lists as excommunicated. The dean, who is a prudent and aged man, was very far from doing so. Of a truth, Sire, I cannot fail to represent to your Majesty, in regard to this point, how great is the resulting inconvenience that any ordinary at all can declare your Majesty's governors and viceroys excommunicated. And that would be a great embarrassment and cause for disturbance for a community; for, if the governor were declared excommunicated, the discontented would take the opportunity to release themselves from his obedience, and to excite a revolt against their legitimate king and lord. There is not lacking one who says that the bishops and ordinaries cannot do this, since the viceroys and governors enjoy the royal privileges, and that no other than the pope himself can excommunicate kings. If this is so, will your Majesty be pleased to declare it, for such a declaration would be very advisable; or order what should be done in this particular.

Among these things there occurred another very regrettable incident. Don Pedro de Monroy, who

was now no longer provisor, left the city; and fearing that, if he returned hither, he would embroil the matter more, as was his custom, I gave orders at the gates of the city that, if he attempted to enter it, he was not to be allowed to do so. But on the twenty-first of last November, the said Don Pedro de Monroy, clad as a Franciscan friar, in the company of two other Franciscan friars, attempted to enter by a gate near the convent of Santo Domingo. A number of religious came out of the convent to receive him. He who was stationed at the gate as commander recognized him, seized him, and cried out to his soldiers to take their weapons and prevent his entrance. But there were so many Dominican friars who attacked the soldiers, and defended Don Pedro with their fists, that the soldiers could not use their weapons or prevent the entrance. Thus, by forcing their way into the guardhouse, the friars brought him into the city. I felt the resentment in this matter that was natural, and I ordered the corporal and the soldiers to be arrested. Being about to punish them for not having obeyed their orders, they exculpated themselves very thoroughly in the investigation made by the auditor-general, but the violence of the religious gave the soldiers no opportunity to do more. Consider, your Majesty, what liberties these are to be taken from religious; and who can endure them? I wrote to their vicar-provincial, but he answered coolly that his religious had not done any such thing, as they are obedient, and that he had information to the contrary. The father vicar-provincial adds that Don Pedro [de] Monrroy entered the city in response to the summons of the Inquisition. This word "Inquisition" is the motto and cry of the fathers of

the Order of St. Dominic in these islands, for whatever they wish to do. Your Majesty will have seen from the aforesaid what ill use they make of the authority of the Inquisition – so much so, that I assert that with it they disturb and excite the community, which would not be safe if your Majesty did not have so many soldiers here. Therefore, since it is advisable to preserve peace here, will your Majesty be pleased to order the supreme tribunal of the Inquisition to order the tribunal of Mexico to appoint, as commissaries, not friars but seculars, since there are so many seculars who are able to act in that capacity, and since it is an office that properly belongs to the ecclesiastical estate. Affairs will then run more smoothly, and there will be more harmony; and I do not expect peace until that be done, and until these lawless acts be checked.

The judge-conservator went on with his commission, urging the archbishop with censures in order to make him hand over the protest or libel which had been made; but the religious gained possession, by force, of the will of the archbishop, and although he desired to surrender the paper, they did not allow him to do so. He gave it to Fray Diego Collado, of the Order of St. Dominic, who secured such possession of that paper that afterward the archbishop himself was unable to obtain it, notwithstanding his efforts.

All was now confusion in the community, and the friars made innumerable evil and vile reports against the fathers of the Society (who bore these attacks in silence), whenever they had an opportunity. They preached innumerable satires against the same fathers of the Society, and against the judge-con-

servator, saying that these were bringing in innumerable innovations—all for the purpose of causing a disturbance. As the preservation of peace pertains to me, I one day summoned the superiors of the orders of St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Augustine, and of the Recollects, and the father commissary of the Holy Office, in your Majesty's name, and by a duly-executed decree of the royal Audiencia. The father commissary refused to come, and sent no excuse. The superiors were told that they were to keep their friars still, so that they might not go about disquieting the community. In regard to those who were most to blame in this—namely, Fray Francisco de Paula and Fray Sebastian de Oquendo of the Order of St. Dominic, and Fray Alonso de Carvajal and Fray Alonso de Ochoa, of the Order of St. Augustine—their superiors were ordered, in your Majesty's name, to cause them to leave the city for some time. But they would by no means obey, for at this time the friars do not recognize your Majesty; and, in order to avoid other troubles, I had to overlook this, and let things go.

At that time I was attending to the despatch to Maluco of the galleons which were to go with the reënforcements. The religious of St. Dominic even allured a pilot whom I had honored and favored, and whom I had chosen to go in the almiranta, so that he should desert with some of them by way of India. I learned of it, and was obliged to arrest him, and to leave orders at the gates not to allow either of the two religious of the Order of St. Dominic, namely, Fray Francisco Pinello and Fray Diego Collado, who were the two implicated in this flight, to leave the city. Therefore, because of this

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order, they began to assert that I was incurring innumerable excommunications. They do not stop to consider that I have this city and these islands in charge, and that, accordingly, I must conserve them, and look out for them, and issue the advisable military orders that I esteem necessary; and that I could not prevent that damage except by not permitting those religious to leave the walls. In another manner, some other religious incited a goodly number of sailors, who, having received their pay to go to Maluco, fled in a boat called "champan," and laid their course toward India. With them was a secular named Don Francisco Montero, who had been expelled from the religious estate – a restless man, who had been deprived some few months before of the chaplaincy of the seminary of Santa Potenciana, as he was not suitable for that post and served it ill. There was also a Recollect Franciscan friar, named Fray Nicolas de Tolentino, who was angered because his order had not elected him provincial, as he wished; and there was also a friar of St. Dominic. They are said to be about to go to España, with the intention of complaining of me to the supreme Inquisition. But the road followed is apt to take them into the hands of the Dutch, or to shipwreck. But in case any such complaint should be carried to España, I am informing your Majesty of everything. I also do so that your Majesty may see to what lengths these friars go, and how necessary it is to check them, so that they may not cause similar desertions – which appear outrages, and which are so, to the disservice of your Majesty, as it takes from us the men who should attend to the royal service in the royal fleet.

While affairs were in this condition, and the archbishop refused to give me the protest or libel which was asked from him, and the judge-conservator would not desist from requesting it, as I judged that it was of service to our Lord and to your Majesty for me to interpose my authority and settle affairs, I called a meeting of the four best lawyers in Manila, among whom was the fiscal of this royal Audiencia. To that meeting I summoned the father provincial and father rector of the Society, and the judge-conservator himself. The lawyers read the opinions, over which they had studied for several days. All agreed that the judge-conservator could remove a suspension that he had imposed on the archbishop as a means of getting the said protest or libel from him; as they said that such suspension was condemnatory.¹⁸ For the same reason they said that he could moderate or completely abrogate the pecuniary fines. The fathers of the Society, although they were the ones offended, charitably took the archbishop's part, and favored the opinion of the lawyers, and desired that the archbishop come safely out of the affair. The judge-conservator alone was somewhat harsh, and appeared to agree to nothing of this. But I asked, entreated, and persuaded him, so that he had to agree to it and absolve the archbishop from everything. Thus was the affair completely ended, on January twenty-eight. I went in my coach and took the archbishop to his cathedral. A huge crowd of people assembled there, and there was much rejoicing in the community because of the conclusion of

¹⁸ Spanish, *condenatoria*; but the word *comminatoria* is employed in a similar expression in the "Letter from a citizen of Manila."

those suits, and because it is believed that your Majesty will consider it well done and to your royal service. However, I am ever on the watch for new disturbances, as the archbishop is naturally inclined to such. Sire, I do not know that the prelates who are clamoring at Madrid are the ones needed here in these islands. Not even for this archbishopric is it advisable that the archbishop be a religious; but he should be some learned secular of exemplary life – one of the many whom your Majesty has in your kingdoms. And I say the same also even for the other bishoprics, in so far as that might be possible. For the harmony that should reign in these islands, it is of the highest importance that the prelates be seculars instead of friars; for these latter side with the others and throw everything into confusion, and oppose the governor to the best of their ability. With secular prelates, things will go better, and great harmony will reign. I have reported these litigations so minutely that your Majesty may know the exact truth – if any of the parties should write or go there, and try to deviate from the truth in their relation. May our Lord preserve your Majesty's royal person, as is necessary to Christendom. Manila, the last of June, 1636. Sire, your vassal kisses your Majesty's feet.

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

[The present document is accompanied by the following documents:]

[The act enacted against the Society of Jesus by the archbishop and orders on October 9, 1635, *q.v.*, VOL. XXV, pp. 216-219 (and the notarial attestations, *ante*, pp. 72, 73); the letter from the governor to

Pedro de Monroy, of October 8, 1635, *q.v.*, VOL. XXV, pp. 207-208; the reply of the provisor, *q.v.*, *ut supra*, pp. 209-210; the letter from the archbishop to the governor, October 9, 1635, *q.v.*, *ut supra*, p. 221; the governor's reply to the archbishop, *q.v.*, *ut supra*, pp. 221-223 (followed here by notarial attestation of the present copy, made at Cavite, June 26, 1636).]

Don Felipe, by the grace of God, king of Castilla, Leon, Aragon, the two Cicilias, Jerusalem, Portugal, Navarra, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Mallorca, Sevilla, Cerdeña, Cordoba, Corcega, Murcia, Jaen, the Algarbes, Algeciras, Gibraltar, the Canarias Islands, the East and West Indies, the islands and mainland of the Ocean Sea; archduke of Austria; duke of Borgoña, Bramonte, and Milan; count of Axpurg, Flandes, Tirol, Barcelona, Vizcaya, and Molina, etc.: Inasmuch as Don Pedro de Monroy proceeded, when provisor of the archbishopric of Manila, against Licentiate Don Francisco de Saavedra Valderrama, auditor of my royal Audiencia and Chancillería established in the city of Manila, of my Filipinas Islands, on the ground that he had taken the notary, De Vega [*i.e.*, Diego?] Soto from the church, where he had taken refuge because of the criminal suit that was being prosecuted against him for the falsehoods and theft with which he is charged in regard to the silver lacking in the wreck of the ship "Sant Nicolas de Tolentino" (he being the notary of that ship), it was ordered that he be restored to the church under penalty of certain fines and censures. Notwithstanding that he appealed in due time and form, and threatened the royal aid against fuerza, and Licentiate Marcos Zapata de Galvez, my fiscal in the said Audiencia (who took

part in the cause because of what pertains to my royal jurisdiction), did the same, the person aforesaid [*i.e.*, Pedro de Monroy] continued to prosecute the said suit, with greater penalties and censures. Therefore, the said my fiscal presented himself in the said my Audiencia in the said appeal from fuerza. Having examined the acts in the matter, it was decreed by an act, on the seventh of the present month and year of the date of this my letter, that the said provisor was declared to have employed fuerza, and he was ordered to recall and repeal his acts; and the aforesaid [provisor] must freely allow the said appeals before the superior judge, who should annul all that had been done and enacted in prejudice of those appeals. He was to raise and remove the censures and interdicts which had been laid, and absolve those who had been excommunicated. Although he ought, in accordance with law, to obey and observe the tenor of the aforesaid decree, not only did he not do so, but on the contrary, adding fuerza to fuerza, he excommunicated Auditor Don Alvaro de Mesa y Lugo, auditor of the said my Audiencia, with new fines and censures. Therefore, at the petition of the said my fiscal, my first and second letters were issued and despatched by the said my Audiencia as royal decrees, ordering that the tenor of the said act should be observed and kept, under penalty of a fine of two thousand Castilian ducados and deprivation of the temporalities, and of being exiled from my kingdoms. Although he was notified, he always remained rebellious and obstinate against fulfilling it. Therefore, it was declared by a third letter and royal decree, which was issued and despatched on the eighth of the said month and year, that he had incurred the said fine of the two thousand Castilian

ducados, exile from my kingdoms, deprivation from all the temporalities that he possesses and enjoys, and exclusion from them. As the said Don Pedro de Monrroy has absented and hidden himself, its execution has not been entirely carried out in regard to expelling him from the country. It is advisable to make the necessary efforts, both that the aforesaid decree may be made public in the said city, and that what has been enacted may be executed. Therefore, the matter having been examined by the president and auditors in the said my royal Audiencia, it was resolved that I ought to order this my letter and royal decree to be issued. By it I order and command that it be proclaimed publicly in the city of Manila, in its public places, that all its citizens, residents, and inhabitants shall consider the said Don Pedro de Monrroy as exiled from my kingdoms; and, as such, that they treat him both in regard to any offices or dignities in which he may be serving, and in all other things regulated by law, as a rebel to my royal mandates; and they shall not receive or conceal him in their houses, or in any other place, nor shall they aid or protect him, so that he may be hidden – under penalty of a fine of two thousand Castilian ducados for my royal exchequer, to which I shall consider as immediately condemned whomsoever shall do the contrary. Further, they shall be proceeded against by the whole rigor of the law, as against receivers and concealers of persons exiled from my kingdoms, and declared as such. I request and charge the superiors of the orders of this city, and outside the city, and other ecclesiastical persons not to admit him into the city under any consideration, with warning that I shall consider myself dis-

served if such be done, and if more can be done in law, it is ordered to be provided as the most advisable remedy, inasmuch as it is thus fitting for my service, and my authority, protection, defense, and the conservation of my royal jurisdiction. Given at Manila, September twenty-five, one thousand six hundred and twenty-three.

DON ALONSO FAXARDO DE TENZA

DOCTOR DON ALVARO DE MESA Y LUGO

LICENTiate DON JUAN DE SAAVEDRA VALDERRAMA

I, Pedro Muñoz de Herrera, who exercise the office of notary of the assembly of the royal Audiencia and Chancillería of these Filipinas Islands, caused this to be written by order of the king our sovereign, by the resolution of the president and auditors of that body.

DON JUAN SARMIENTO

Chancellor of DON JUAN SARMIENTO¹⁹

This copy is collated with the original royal decree, which is in the possession of Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, governor and captain-general of these Philipinas Islands. By order of his Lordship, I drew this copy at Manila, October seventeen, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five. Witnesses, Simon Delgado and the accountant, Juan Bautista de Zubiaga. In testimony of truth, I sealed and signed it.

ANDRES MARTIN DE ARROYO,

notary of the royal crown.

We, the undersigned notaries of the king our sovereign, attest that Andres Martin del Arroyo, by whom this copy appears to be sealed and signed, is such royal notary as he has called himself therein.

¹⁹ So in our transcript, but evidently an error of the transcriber.

To the writings and acts that have passed, and pass, before him, entire credit has been and is given, in and out of court. So that this may appear, we affix our signatures. Given at Manila, June eighteen, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

AUGUSTIN DE VALENZUELA, notary-public.

FRANCISCO DE RUEDA, royal notary.

SEBASTIAN DAMAS, notary of the assembly.

[The act of the commissary of the Inquisition, dated November 26, 1635, presented to the governor and concerning the libelous protest issued by the archbishop and religious (*q.v.*, VOL. XXV, pp. 243-244); and the records of the trial and acquittal of Francisco de Rivera (*q.v.*, *ante*, pp. 73-86, taken in part from the present document) follow.]

Act, and head of the process for Captain Juan Dominguez, the pilot. In the port of Cavite, December twenty-two, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, General Don Andres Pacheco de Toledo, lieutenant-governor and captain-general, castellan and chief justice in this said fort for his Majesty, declared that inasmuch as it has come to his notice that Captain Juan Dominguez, who is captain of a company of marine infantry and pilot-in-chief of these islands, has attempted to absent himself from them, and to go in a champan to the kingdoms of Castilla by way of Yndia, without permission of the governor, of all which the said judge has been advised by certain papers without signature that were given to him, and by other circumstantial evidence that he has had: In order that the said crime may be punished, in accordance with the military ordinances, he ordered that an official investi-

gation be made by the department of royal justice, according to military usage and procedure, and that the witnesses be examined in accordance with the tenor of this act and head of the process. Thus did he enact, and he affixed his signature.

DON ANDRES PACHECO DE THOLEDO

Before me:

AGUSTIN DE BALENÇUELA, notary-public.

Testimony. In the port of Cavite, December twenty-two, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, the said judge summoned before him, for the said investigation, the chief gunner, Daniel Alvarez, an inhabitant of this said port. The oath was taken from him in due form of law, before God our Lord and with the sign of the cross, under which obligation he promised to tell the truth. Being questioned according to the tenor of the act and the head of the process, of this other part, this witness declared that he knows Captain Juan Dominguez, and that what he knows and what occurred is as follows: About twenty days or so ago, Bartolome Martin, an artilleryman, and both a countryman and a friend of this witness, said that Captain Juan Dominguez had communicated with him, and asked him whether he would like to go to España by way of Yndia; and, if so, that he would take him also; for he, together with ten or twelve others who were sailors, was going to take a friar of St. Dominic to Yndia. The latter was going to take papers and despatches from the archbishop and the orders in the city of Manila; and they were giving the said Juan Dominguez four thousand pesos for this enterprise. The said Bartolome Martin replied to him: "Captain Juan

Dominguez, I am equipped to go to Terrenate, to serve in my post as artilleryman under General Don Guillermo Somante. On my return from the voyage, I think that I shall go to España, the same way by which I came. Therefore, I do not care to go." This is what this witness knows, and what he has heard. It is the truth, under obligation of the oath that he has taken, by which he affirmed and ratified it. He declared that he was competent to act as a witness, and that he is forty years old. He affixed his signature, and the said judge signed it.

DANIEL ALVAREZ

[A rubric, apparently that of the said judge, is at the foot.]

Before me:

AGUSTIN DE VALENÇUELA, notary-public.

Then the said judge immediately summoned Bartolome Martin, an artilleryman, to appear before him for the said investigation, on the said day, month, and year. From him was taken an oath in due form of law before God and with the sign of the cross, under which obligation he promised to tell the truth. Being questioned in accordance with the said act and head of the process, this witness declared that he knows Captain Juan Dominguez; and that about twenty days or so ago, he called to this witness and told him to come to see him, as he had some business to talk over with him. Thereupon this witness went to his house that night, and found him there with Christobal Romero and other persons. This witness waited until they had gone, and then asked the said captain what he wished from him. He replied that he had made arrangements with the fathers of St. Domingo and some other persons

(whose names he did not declare) to go in a champan from here to Malaca, and from Malaca to Goa, in order to take some letters from the archbishop and orders of the city of Manila to España, written against the governor and captain-general of these islands about the affairs of the judge-conservator. He was to take two friars of St. Domingo in the said champan, who were giving him more than four thousand pesos for that enterprise. He asked the witness whether he did not wish to leave so wretched a country, since the governor was acting so harshly toward the men of his calling, whose wages he had cut down. This witness answered that he did not wish to go with him; and that he was not a deserter, nor in debt, nor was there anything else that should lead him to absent himself. He said that he was now about to go to Terrenate, and that opportunity would not be lacking for him to go to España on his return; and then he would not have to go secretly and at such a risk, which might cost him dear. And he went to recount the occurrence, just as it had happened, to the chief gunner Daniel Alvarez (who cites him in his deposition), as they are friends. This is what occurred and is the truth, on the oath that he has taken, on which he affirmed and ratified it. He said that he was competent to act as a witness, and that he is thirty-one years old. He affixed his signature, and the said judge signed it.

BARTOLOME MARTIN

[The rubric of the said judge appears at the foot.]

Before me:

AGUSTIN DE VALENÇUELA, notary-public.

Then immediately on the said day, month, and year, the said judge summoned Jose Martin de Barce-

lona before him for the said investigation. An oath was received from him in due form of law, before God our Lord and with the sign of the cross, under which obligation he promised to tell the truth. Being questioned in accordance with the tenor of the said act, he declared that he knows the said captain Juan Dominguez; and although it is true that this witness stated that the said captain Juan Dominguez was not to go to Terrenate, he did not say that because he thought that he was going to Yndia, but because it was reported that the royal officials were going to arrest him for a sum of pesos which he owes to the royal treasury. He understands or knows nothing else than what he has declared, and that is the truth, on his oath, on which he affirmed and ratified his statements. He declared that he is competent to act as a witness, and that he is forty-four years old. He affixed his signature to the same, and the said judge signed it.

JOSE MARTIN DE BARCELONA

[A rubric is seen at the bottom, which is that generally used by the said judge.]

Before me:

AGUSTIN DE VALENÇUELA, notary-public.

Thereupon, immediately on the said day, month, and year, the said judge summoned Cosme Chacon, an artilleryman, before him for the said investigation. An oath was taken from him in due form of law, before God our Lord and with the sign of the cross, under which obligation he promised to tell the truth. Being questioned according to the tenor of the said act and the head of the process, he declared that what he knows is, that it was said publicly and openly in that port, four or five days ago, or there-

about, that certain persons of the port had told the said judge that Captain Juan Dominguez was trying to absent himself and go to España by way of Yndia, for which they had given the judge a letter. This witness has spoken about this same matter, and has no further information than what he has given. He was asked by the said judge whether, some four or five days ago, when the chief gunner of the fort at this port arrested him because he would not attend to the duties of his post, the witness said that the chief gunner's command over him would soon end. He declared that the words contained in the above question are true, but that his meaning in saying them was that his post of artilleryman would soon be exchanged for that of soldier (which is the employment that this witness professes), and that he made the aforesaid remark with no other meaning. This is his answer, and he declared that it is entirely true, on his oath, by which he affirmed and ratified his statement. He declared that he is competent to act as a witness; that he is twenty-seven years old; and that he does not know how to sign the above. The said judge signed it. [At the foot appears the rubric of the judge.]

AGUSTIN DE VALENÇUELA, notary-public.

Collated with the original, which is in the archives of my office, and I refer to it. At the order of General Don Andres Pacheco de Toledo, lieutenant-governor and captain-general, castellan, commandant and justice of this port, I give the present in Cavite, April twenty-five, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six. Witnesses, Agustin de Carrança, Christobal de Molina, and Captain Juan Despinosa. In testimony of the truth, I seal it.

AGUSTIN DE VALENÇUELA, notary-public.

Letter written by Bartolomé Dominguez to Juan Romero

Dear comrade:

I trust that this letter will find your Grace in the enjoyment of as good health as I wish for myself. Mine is good, and at your Grace's service. In regard to my return, your Grace must know that, when I parted from your Grace in Manila, I did not have any such thought; nor did I know of it until I reached Cavite, when Estacio talked with me. Seeing myself so out of favor and my brother dead, I resolved to return, on account of those changes. We went in a small champan – ten men and one friar – to a distance eight leguas from Maribeles. There we found a large champan and two religious. We all embarked, and went to a district belonging to the fathers, to deck the champan over. We have provisions for two years; powder and balls, muskets, and two small pieces of bronze artillery [*esmeriles*]. They give each of us three hundred pesos and our expenses to España. Esteves has your Grace's new doublet; and your Grace can get it [from him]. Francisco Cachata owes [me] three pesos and Bartolo two – all to be used in saying masses for my brother. Juan de Palacios owes me four pesos, which he may spend in his mess; and my silver spoon and mirror. Will your Grace get them? and they are to be used in saying masses for my brother. Will your Grace tell him that if he shall bring any cloth, he must do his best for his soul. The three mantas of Pedro Castañeda must be paid for, according to what is right. Tell Señora Juana that I beg her pardon for not having gone to say goodbye to her uncle and aunt, and give her my regards. And will

your Grace tell Captain Juan Dominguez, when he comes from Terrenate, that I send him my regards. Now I shall say nothing further except that may God preserve your Grace for many years, and take you to your home; and, if I reach there first, I shall say that you are well. Given on this new year's. From your Grace's comrade,

BARTOLOMÉ DOMINGUEZ

The address of this letter reads: "To my comrade, Juan Romero (may our Lord preserve him!), at the house of Juana Muñoz, next to the Society, Cavite."

Collated with the copy of the report and letter which are in possession of Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera y Mendoza. At the order of his Lordship I drew this copy, which is a true and faithful copy. Witnesses at its copying, correction, and collation were the accountant Juan Bautista de Çubiaga, Agustin de Reguen, and Juan de Palma, who were present. In testimony of truth, I sealed and signed it.

ANDRES MARTIN DE ARROYO, royal notary.

[The notarial attestation of the validity of documents drawn up before the above notary, dated Manila, May 8, 1636, and signed by Agustin de Valençuela, Alfonso Baeza del Rio, and Francisco de la Torre, follows.] ²⁰

[*In the margin*: "That during the eleven months while he has been in that government he has done no

²⁰ As the reader will observe, this letter from Corcuera is, in part, almost the same as that preceding; but it contains a considerable quantity of matter (including several appended documents) which is not found elsewhere, and is for that reason presented here. It is probably one of the letters sent, either partly or wholly in duplicate, by other routes to Spain, so that at least one set of the despatches might reach the home government.

other thing than to establish the royal jurisdiction and patronage, and subdue the religious to [understand] that his Majesty is their natural seignior and the seignior of those islands; and he relates the mischievous proceedings of the religious of St. Francis, St. Augustine, and St. Dominic.”]

Sire:

One would believe that your Majesty (may God preserve you) has sent me not to govern your Filipinas Islands, but to conquer them from the religious of St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Augustine; for in the eleven months since my arrival here, I have had no other thing to do than to establish the jurisdiction of your Majesty and your royal patronage, and to subdue the said religious to the understanding that your Majesty alone is their natural seignior, as well as the seignior of the said islands. And hitherto they have succeeded in and obtained whatever they desired, either because they have governed the governors, or the governor through fear of their so insolent preaching, or on account of their demands and threats, has never refused them anything. And if, in the course of the year, they have resorted to these measures at the time of the despatch of the galleons to Nueva España, the governors have granted their petitions, just or unjust—either that the religious might write well of their government, or so that they might not write ill of it. I am convinced that they will always write ill of me, because I am ever striving to regulate the service of God and that of your Majesty. As that is a labor in which both services may be free from self-interest and worldly ends, I shall not resent that they write to your Majesty whatever they like; for, since you are so

just and so Catholic a sovereign, I cannot believe or expect that you will condemn me without a hearing. Therefore I petition your Majesty to be pleased to have your secretaries send a copy of my letters to your vassals, both regular ecclesiastics and seculars, of what I shall write concerning them; for they will find therein no deceit or falsehood (and it is impossible to deceive God and one's natural sovereign). Also they will find neither hate, love, nor passion, but only kind desires for correcting the faults of my neighbors, and those of the subjects of your Majesty whom you have given to me by your favor, so that I might maintain peace and justice among them, and keep them in the fear of God and that of your royal person. I also petition your Majesty to be pleased to have the said secretaries send me the letters, or copies of the letters, that they shall write, so that we may, on both sides, verify the truth here, and, having verified it, advise your Majesty.

[*In the margin*: "That the Order of St. Dominic generally opposes the government, while that of St. Francis has given great scandal to those islands, by the provincial chapter that was held."]

The Order of St. Dominic has grown old in opposing the government for many years. The Order of St. Francis has opposed it from the time of the provincial chapter held by a commissary, Fray Juan de Gabiria, an Observantine, in which he deprived the discalced fathers of all the definitorships, elected Observantine provincial and guardians, and removed the discalced provincial; and against the will of your Majesty and your royal decrees tried to convert the discalced fathers into Observantines, under the protection of Don Juan Cereço Salamanca. Because he

removed a guardian of Manila, Fray Jose Forte, for causes which the ex-provincial ought to have discovered, this order caused the greatest scandal in the community that has been seen here. As it did not happen in my time, I am only obliged to inform your Majesty of it, but not of the disorders committed. [*Decreed in the margin*: "In the Council, December 12, 1637. That the secretary request the commissary-general of the Indias to report what happened in this matter. Let examination be made to discover whether there are any papers or letters that concern this matter."]

[*In the margin*: "The provincials of St. Francis, past and present, are coming to relate what they have done."]

I have decreed that the provincials, past and present, and the commissary himself, go to report to your Majesty and to their superiors what they have done; and your Majesty will there give orders as to which they must be – discalced, as hitherto, or Observantines. [*Decreed in the margin*: "See above. If these religious come, have this section brought."]

[*In the margin*: "That the Order of St. Augustine is in need of reform; he mentions the causes for it."]

The Order of St. Augustine – of the Recollects, in particular (although they came here, Sire, to reform the others), it is seen and understood, have as great need of reformation as the first – refused to obey his Holiness or your Majesty's decrees. In regard to the alternation²¹ that the creoles asked,

²¹ Here used in a technical sense – the option or right to take action or enjoy an advantage alternately with others, as in appointments to ecclesiastical benefices, etc.; the creoles evidently demanding to share those appointments with the clergy brought over from Spain.

various remarks are made on this matter, and the blame is cast on Don Juan Cereço de Salamanca. This order recognize the injury and injustice that they are doing to the creoles, and they know that I am not ignorant of any defects and imperfections, however serious. They have recognized in me that I shall not distort justice for anyone, and they have consequently composed themselves – quite early desisting from counseling the archbishop as the others did, and being reconciled, and returning to unite with the Order of the Society, withdrawing from the union which they and the other orders had formed against those fathers. Their present provincial is a discreet, honorable, and upright man, so that the order is better regulated. The most efficient remedy that your Majesty can adopt is, not to grant them any more religious for eight years, or permission to them to travel; for besides the fact that there are many of them here, and so many do not die as are reported to your Majesty, last year there came with your Majesty's permission sixteen or eighteen of the Order of St. Augustine, and thus was spent by your Majesty as many thousands of pesos. They brought still more, as many as twenty-eight – either with the money that was left over (for your Majesty gives them too large a sum), or with the money sent them by their order from here. And, as they are contented with nothing, where one religious formerly served there are now two or three; and where two served, there are now four or five. I will tell your Majesty the troubles and disadvantages arising from this condition of affairs: the first is, to oppose the alcaide-mayor and your Majesty's justice in every way; the second, to cause more instruction, so that your Majesty may spend more in stipends, which they

have obtained from the government, by the requests and presents that they have made to my predecessors; the third, to make greater slaves of the poor Indians by being the merchants of their rice and cloth, taking by force from them, at the price that they choose, whatever the Indians possess; and fourth, when an assessment [*repartimiento*] of rice, linen, wine, and other things is made for your Majesty's magazines, and for your royal service, they offer opposition not only to the alcalde-mayor, but also to the government, bewailing the poverty of the Indians – so that the latter may have more left of which these religious can skin and deprive them. These missionaries, Sire, do not undertake only the teaching of the doctrines and the administration of the sacraments; but they are attempting to rule everything. They tell the Indians, publicly and privately, that there is no other king or pope than themselves; and they make their fiscals give to an Indian, and even to his wife, fifty lashes for any childish or foolish act. I shall be satisfied if your Majesty's name has the fourth part of the sovereignty and lordship that these fathers have among these Indians. Sometimes they tell the alcaldes-mayor that their provincials in Manila, and they in the missions, ought to be obeyed. The above and many other lawless acts which I have discovered here among these orders have made me disconsolate; and I confess to your Majesty that I would serve you more willingly in any of your armies as a soldier than here as governor. If your Majesty do not have the goodness to have this effectively remedied, this colony will go to ruin, because of the multitude of allied friars. The ecclesiastical cabildo and the Society of Jesus recognize your Majesty as

sovereign, and obey you, and at the same time prove by all their actions their love for your service – for all of which your Majesty can honor them and show them favor, if you are so minded. [*Decreed in the margin*: “Let the governor cause to be exactly observed, the alternation which does not allow that there be more religious in any mission district than those who shall be necessary for it according to the royal patronage. Let the others occupy themselves in instruction and in preaching, for which they were sent. Let no more religious be given them for the period mentioned by the governor. If they are asked for, let a report of this letter be made.”]

[*In the margin*: “That bishops should be sent to those islands who are secular priests, but not friars, because of the troubles that arise from their uniting with the orders and opposing the governor; and he asks that the presiding archbishop be sent a coadjutor, as he is now very old and incapacitated.”]

Most of the ministers of instruction think only of acquiring and amassing money, in order thereby to solicit your Majesty in that court to give them these bishoprics. Surely, your Majesty is not well served thereby; and you should send a secular bishop, or at least an archbishop, so that the religious should not unite with him to oppose your Majesty's governors. And, if it please you, will you send a coadjutor for Don Fray Hernando Guerrero, archbishop of these islands, who is now so old that he is past eighty years of age, and his hands and head shake. Leaving his lack of learning out of the question, your Majesty can consider what the [ecclesiastical] government will be by having peace. In order that your Majesty may establish a thing so to your service, I will give

that coadjutor two thousand pesos annually from my own salary. If he should assume the archbishopric during my term, I shall arrange so as to leave that sum to him as an income, besides the four thousand pesos that the archbishop receives – so that the two thousand may not be paid from your Majesty's royal treasury, from your royal incomes, or from those of your vassals. By that means the archbishopric will have an income of more than six thousand pesos, and its incumbent can get along excellently on that. Will your Majesty kindly send such a coadjutor for the succor of these islands and the consolation and protection of the clergy, from among the so many virtuous and erudite and moral seculars in that royal court. Should such an archbishop have a bishop *in partibus*, in order to go to confirm and to visit, your Majesty can very well dispense with the three other bishops of Cibu, Nueva Segovia, and Camarines, for they are in fact of but little use and service in their bishoprics. [*Decreed in the margin:* "Touching the matter that the archbishopric be given to a secular, when that post falls vacant, let this section be referred to. In regard to giving a coadjutor to the archbishop, have his letters collected, and what other letters treat of his health, age, capacity, and method of procedure. The secretary, Don Gabriel de Ocaña y Alarcon, shall make a secret investigation of what occurs in this matter. In regard to the offer of the two thousand pesos which the governor offers from his salary, no steps will be taken at present; but have the governor notified to explain the means by which the sum that he mentions can be obtained without detriment to the royal treasury or to his Majesty's vassals, so that if it be a measure

proper to adopt, it may be carried out. In regard to abolishing those bishoprics, let there be brought, for the better settlement of the matter, a report of the data concerning their erection, their respective distances [from Manila], and whatever else concerns this matter, and of what shall be found in the secretary's office."]

[*In the margin*: "That the orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis have sent more religious than those granted to them."]

The Order of St. Dominic having been granted sixteen religious by your Majesty, at a cost of a like number of thousands of pesos, brought twenty-six in all, at a cost of as many thousands of pesos. The Order of St. Francis brought sixteen, although your Majesty granted them twelve. Thus, Sire, your Majesty spent forty-eight thousand pesos in bringing those seventy religious, and established nearly as many rivals to your governor, in order that they might oppose him in everything. The diocesan authorities of Camarines have given me a memorandum, to the effect that in that bishopric alone six stipends can be saved, and a like number of guardianías, as they are very near one another, and two can be administered as one. The religious do not deserve this, but, although there may be thirty Indians in one district, and another district lies but one-half or three-quarters of a legua away, they want another mission; and as I say, they are rarely willing to live alone. Their prelates foster such ideas by saying that the lax conduct of one is avoided by giving him an associate. Happy would I count myself, Sire, if I could see myself at your Majesty's feet, informing you of part of what takes place here, since I could

not do so entirely. [*Decreed in the margin*: "In regard to this section and the following ones, let the governor be answered not to consent to the erection of new missions that are not according to the royal patronage; and let him try, with the consent of the archbishop, to unite some with others. In those which shall be newly established, he shall also endeavor to introduce secular clergy, if he find them capable and sufficient. And whenever anyone shall again discuss the question whether it is advisable to deprive the religious of the missions and appoint seculars to them, reference shall be made to this section."]

[*In the margin*: "That the orders can obtain religious from those in Mexico, or creoles, without going to so great expense as to convey them from España."]

It also appears that these orders can obtain religious from Mexico, without causing so great expense to your Majesty's treasury – creoles, or at least those who have gone thither from España, who are more habituated to a hot climate, and will not enter suddenly so great a change of climate as that of these islands; and even were there none of this change, it would be well for them. Your Majesty ought also, in justice, to favor the ecclesiastical estate, so that, if there are benefices and missions, these may be given to it. For almost all such are in the possession of the religious; and the seculars who are now studying in the colleges, from whose number some very good candidates graduate, have nothing to which to aspire. It is a shame that there is nothing in which to occupy them. They do not cause any expense to your Majesty in a journey hither, nor in their studies,

and are more easily reduced to reason; while the friar is one with his community, and no one denies that the religious outside his convent would die as a fish out of water. I entreat your Majesty to be pleased to believe me that I do not inform you of all these things from hate, passion, or ill-will; but only from my desire that your Majesty's service may be uppermost. Your Majesty will never have a true report concerning these islands, if your disinterested governors do not give it—for which reason, since this country is so far away, no relief can be furnished in matters that need it so greatly. For my part, I shall ever endeavor to comply with the obligations under which your Majesty has placed me, together with those which I have as a Christian, and those which I owe to my lineage. I shall do my uttermost, and that will be something; but if your Majesty will aid me by means of some ordinances and mandates, there will remain nothing for me to do. May our Lord preserve your Majesty's Catholic person, as is necessary to Christendom. Manila, the last of June, 1636. Sire, your Majesty's vassal kisses your feet,

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA ^{21*}

^{21*} Several of the matters discussed in the above letter are answered by the following royal decree:

The King. To Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, knight of the Order of Alcantara, my governor and captain-general of the Philipinas Islands, and president of my royal Audiencia therein. Your letter of June 30, 636, on ecclesiastical matters has been examined in my royal Council of the Indias, and reply is now made to you. You say that the religious of the Order of St. Augustine need correction, since they had not obeyed the bulls of his Holiness nor the decrees which have been issued in regard to the alternation; and that it was expedient not to allow them any more religious for eight years. Because they have many religious, as well as on account of the reasons that you bring forward for that, it has seemed best to me to charge you that you shall cause the

[*Endorsed*: "Read and decreed within. December 12, 637."]

Sire:

The Order of St. Dominic and the other orders having so disturbed me and the community with the affairs of the archbishop, Don Fray Hernando Guerrero, as I have related to your Majesty in other letters, Fray Diego Collado, who brought twenty-six religious of the said Order of St. Dominic last year with your Majesty's order and permission, presented to me certain letters from his general. He says that he presented them in the royal Council of

decree for the alternation to be punctually executed, without allowing any more religious in each mission than the number which, conformably to my royal patronage, shall be enough for its needs; and that the rest of them occupy themselves in missions and preaching for which they were sent there. As for what you wrote me about the advanced age of the archbishop of those islands – who is so old that his hands and head tremble, and that it would be desirable to give him a coadjutor, and that you would arrange for giving him two thousand pesos of income besides the four thousand which the said archbishop receives, without drawing it from my royal treasury or from my vassals – I charge you to make known to me the measure or means by which that sum could be obtained without loss to my royal exchequer or my vassals, so that I may consent to your carrying it out if it be worthy of acceptance. In order that the religious of St. Dominic and of the other orders who are laboring in those islands may live with the concord and good example which is proper, and that they may not appropriate more Indian villages than those which are allowed them by my decrees, you shall not permit them to select any new ones beyond what shall be conformable to my patronage; and you shall, with the agreement of the archbishop, endeavor to unite some of the villages to others; and in those which are newly established you shall make the same effort, by introducing secular priests when you find them intelligent and competent. Madrid, September 2, 1638.

I THE KING

Countersigned by Don Gabriel de Ocaña y Alarcon, and signed by the Council. (Conserved in Archivo Historico Nacional, in the Cedula Indico, tomo 39, folio 225b.)

the Indias, who ordered that these be returned to him, granting him the said permission to bring the religious, although it appears that it was under the leadership of another, the nephew of the said Fray Diego Collado, as the latter was sick. I consulted as to the matter with the Audiencia, and with other learned men. In accordance with their opinions (which I have in writing), although I have no decree from your Majesty ordering me to help him, I did aid him, at his petition, so that the provincial of this province should obey the letters of his general. In those letters the general orders, under penalty of major excommunication, that the provincial should deliver the government of five houses and one hospital of the Chinese to the said Fray Diego Collado, without making any excuse or delay, so that he might form therewith a separate congregation for the purpose of the propagation of the faith.²² Having, as I declare to your Majesty, consulted on and examined the matter, and as this division cannot harm your Majesty or the royal patronage, I deemed it advisable to grant him the aid in accordance with the opinions aforesaid. Those fathers, therefore, divided into two bodies, and the moods and restlessness in which they were keeping the said archbishop subsided, and in fact have died away; and they are allowing me to live and govern in peace. Until now, I have been unable to have peace during these ten months, by whatever means I have sought and striven. May God grant that it last, and that those

²² *Para el efecto de propaganda fide*: evidently an allusion to the Congregation of the Propaganda (vol. XXI, p. 164, note 40), and may be freely rendered, "for carrying on the work of the [Congregation for the] propagation of the faith" — Collado's friars being assigned to mission work only.

fathers content themselves with governing within their gates, and do not endeavor to govern and manage your Majesty's governors – which they attempted to do the second or third day after I was received as such in these islands. One Fray Sebastian de Oquendo, a restless and impudent friar, and extravagant in his speech, came to give me his opinion, and to counsel me as to what persons were suitable for alcaldes-mayor and captains of the districts where those religious have their missions – praising some, and speaking evil of others; and endeavoring to make me believe that what he told me was the only thing that was advisable for your Majesty's service. He continued to do that twice more within one week, until I asked him who had told him that I needed his counsel and opinion to execute and carry out your Majesty's service, which was in my charge. Thereupon, he talked no more to me, but he has spoken evil things of the government in the pulpit at various times – and so scandalously that it obliged the Audiencia and its president to request his superior to cause him to leave the city for a season, together with Fray Francisco de Paula, another restless preacher, and a disturber of the peace and quiet and of the minds of your Majesty's vassals. The superior refused to accede to this request; accordingly, those fathers are always overbold and impudent in the pulpits. Unless your Majesty have the goodness to command that this be corrected, those of the province and those of this new congregation will have recourse to your Majesty, in order to lodge their complaints – those of the province declaring that your Majesty's patronage is not being observed, and that the aid given to Fray Diego de Collado is con-

trary to the royal patronage. This is the first time that has been seen in these islands, that the friars have defended the royal patronage, for they are through and through opposed to the said royal patronage. If your Majesty would be pleased to see it quite plainly, the royal patronage rules that the provincials shall propose two or three persons as priors and guardians, and that the government, representing your Majesty, shall appoint one of these. By decrees sent to my predecessor, Don Juan Niño de Tabora, in the year twenty-nine, your Majesty once more ordered that this be ordained by your royal Council of the Indias. But, notwithstanding what pertains to the patronage and what your Majesty orders, the religious have refused to do this, or to obey you. They offer certain cool excuses, and, although they see that that decree is executed in Piru and Nueva España, they refuse to obey in anything which pertains to the patronage, and which your Majesty orders by a special decree, unless it suits them very well to obey it. And since your Majesty has now sent an obedient governor, and one who does what he is ordered, he is the most evil man in all the world; and they parade him in their pulpits, attempting to ascertain and publish what belongs to God alone – [asking] whether the continence of the governor and his endeavor not to furnish a bad example, is the virtue of chastity, or the fault of nature. These things, Sire, are taught here in the pulpits by the Dominican friars. The guardian of St. Francis said publicly in the pulpit of the cathedral church (because the computer of accounts had presented an account against him) that he would show a balance due against the king of España – talking in this so

discourteous manner of his natural lord, as if he were English, French, or of any other nation; and charging your Majesty with the fact that Fray Francisco Jimenez had gained Oran for you, and that another Franciscan friar had quieted and pacified Nueva España. From these things, he drew up results against your Majesty in the pulpit. He said of the accountant, Juan Bautista de Çubiaga, a Vizcayan (who is so well known that no one can be ignorant of his birth, and of the great fidelity and disinterestedness with which he serves your Majesty), that he was a Gascon devil, besides other very insolent words – although the said friar is a Mallorcan or a native of Cerdeña [*i.e.*, Sardinia], which one could presume to be a more barbarous place than España. This is preached in the pulpits, and is winked at; for these religious are exciting and stirring up the community at any opportunity, and in order to avoid scandals, the mildest course possible is being taken. These religious, Sire, are very numerous, and must be trying to excite all these islands. They show humility only when the hostile Indians go to sack their missions; and then they come to ask for soldiers, and to set forth many things in favor of the honor of God, and the service of your Majesty. For both, with all humility I entreat your Majesty to be pleased to order these excesses to be corrected, or to give me orders for what I am to do in like cases.

Will your Majesty command that the question be considered whether it will suit your Majesty to order the approval of what has been done, or to take such action as may be most expedient for your royal service – on account of the advantages arising from the separation of this Order of St. Dominic into two

factions, and for that reason, their becoming subject to your Majesty's orders. I shall obey you with my breast to the earth, as I ought to do, and as I have done for twenty-six years past. May our Lord preserve your Majesty's Catholic person, as is necessary to Christendom. Manila, the last of June, 1636. Sire, your vassal kisses your Majesty's feet.

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

Sire:

Six months before my arrival here, the fathers of St. Francis had held a chapter. It was illegal, without question. Fray Francisco de Gabiria, an Observantine friar, came to them as visitor. He began his commission and visit by depriving all the definitors of the province of their offices, and appointed new definitors from the Observantine friars and others who took the habit in this country and belong to the Observantine faction. He continued [this course] by removing the guardians and appointing others who belonged to his following, until they had more than sufficient votes to hold a chapter. The commissary-visitor took the opportunity to do all this, because the legitimate definitors had deprived a friar, one Jose Fonte, of his guardianía. That religious was guardian of the convent of Manila, and a prime favorite of Don Juan Cereço, former governor *ad interim*. The legal definitors deprived him of the guardianía. Upon the coming of the father commissary, Fray Jose Fonte complained and requested his guardianía, although the matter had no appeal. The said Don Juan Cereço also lodged a complaint, because his favorite and adviser had been deprived of his guardianía. The commissary, who

saw that the occasion was so opportune for his purposes, overrode the province and body of definitors, and on account of the above, deprived the high officials [of his order] of their offices. Sire, nothing is hidden from us in this land. In this case, one might tell your Majesty many things, but I shall relate only two. First, the father commissary offered to the father provincial and his definitors one of the greatest insults that have been known in your Majesty's kingdoms. For Fray Jose Fonte, as is the general opinion of the community, is a rather free-and-easy religious; and the reason why the father provincial deprived him of his guardianía – although he had, as was true, the said Don Juan Cereço so strongly on his side – was doubtless because his mode of life and his government of the convent were such that he could under no consideration be endured. Your Majesty can have no doubt of this, for it is proved beyond question by the loud murmuring of the community at the lack of devotion displayed by that religious. Therefore, your Majesty will reflect whether the removal of a provincial and the whole body of definitors, in order to reinstate this man, is an affront worthy of consideration. Second, I assert that his chapter was illegal, and that beyond question; for the father commissary-general, Fray Francisco de Ocaña, sent a very necessary letter of obedience throughout the provinces of the Indias, which has, among its other sections, one of the following tenor:

“*Item*: We ordain that the fathers commissaries-general and the fathers commissaries-visitors shall render sentences in the causes and processes that shall be brought to trial [*i.e.*, in the tribunals of the order],

one week before the provincial chapters; and on the actual day of the chapter-meeting these shall be pronounced and made known, in the manner generally used by the order – so that the matter may be apparent to those members capable of voting who assemble from the said province; and so that the electors in the chapter may enjoy the liberty that is proper. Whatever shall be done in any other manner, now and henceforth, we annul and revoke it.”

The father commissary-visitor sentenced and deprived of their offices the father provincial and his definitors immediately, in the first month of his visit, and five months before the week assigned by the father commissary-general, Fray Francisco de Ocaña. Therefore, since the law is so clear, and in the Romance tongue, there is scant need of lawyers to judge that the manner in which Father Gabiria performed his commission is null and void. I was informed of these things, upon my arrival at the islands, by fathers of all the orders as well as by other persons of the city. I ordered the ex-provincial to come privately and talk with me. I asked him why these orders were issued and such things done, and promised to aid him in your Majesty's name if he wished to demand his justice. He replied to me that he saw that all things were in a very lamentable condition, but that he did not dare plead anything; for very great scandals would arise, and the superiors of his order would take it ill, and severely punish those who had written and reported it. Therefore, he had resolved to be patient and to await their reply. The chief end of all this [scheming] was the capitular election, and because the father-commissary was trying to obtain the government of the

province; and although it was founded and continued by discalced friars, to make it Observantine. Your Majesty has ordered that no Observantine friars may come to this country, but that all who come be discalced. Beyond question, it is not at all fitting for Observantines to come; for so long as there shall be Observantine and discalced friars, there can be no peace; and most serious troubles will result, both to the order itself and to the natives under its charge. Will your Majesty be pleased to order the father commissary-general to check these proceedings, and to prevent these scandals which have occurred so often among his friars; and that he obey your Majesty's decree not to send Observantine friars. For, notwithstanding your Majesty's order, they come here clad in the habit of discalced friars; and on their arrival at the province, their sole aim is to turn it topsy-turvy.

Thinking that the troubles of this order could be obviated, I requested the provincial to send that friar, Fray Jose Fonte, to Terrenate to take charge of your Majesty's hospital there (a post so honorable that the provincial himself exercised it before being provincial) – in order to get him away from here, and prevent the discalced religious from being ill treated and from being afflicted in mind; and so that the provincial could better discharge the duties of his government and denounce the invalid acts that had been committed. Although I told the provincial that it was advisable for your Majesty's service to have that religious leave here, for which I would be answerable to him, he refused to do so, excusing him as being a definitor. And although I told the provincial that, since he could not obey what was sug-

gested to him in your Majesty's name as fitting to your service, no other religious nor any supplies of his would go to Terrenate in your Majesty's galleons, he gave himself no concern about it. Those friars, as I have written your Majesty in other letters, do not reckon themselves your vassals, and do not think that they have to obey you as such. Consequently, it is advisable, as your Majesty can do so, to have the matter examined, so that a suitable remedy may be applied. May our Lord preserve your Majesty's Catholic person, as is necessary to Christendom. Manila, the last of June, 1636. Sire, your vassal kisses your Majesty's feet.

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

[*Endorsed*: "December 22, 637. Have the father commissary-general investigate the points of this letter, and file what he reports with the letters treating of this matter and the orders of the Council, and take all to the fiscal."

"The fiscal declares that the decrees and orders issued in regard to this matter must, as was ordered by the Council, be filed with this letter and the report of the father commissary-general. That done, let it all be delivered to him, so that he may answer. Madrid, July first, 638."

"No other papers than those which are brought are found in the secretary's office treating of this matter, or of what the governor says."

"The fiscal declares that the royal decrees and orders concerning this matter should be commanded to be observed, and that the father provincial of this order be commanded to apply the necessary correction so that these scandals may cease, and that information must be given to the Council of what shall be

done—endeavoring to see to it that there are no scandals or excesses, which are a great injury to souls. Madrid, December 9, 1638.”

“December 10, 638. Let the decrees that have been issued regarding this matter be observed. Write to the father commissary-general that it is expected from his care and attention that he will so manage that all things may have the desirable harmony and suitable regulation. He shall advise the Council of what occurs, and of the information that is expected. Write to the governor that he have all manner of care in this matter, so that the harmony and quiet of those religious may be attained.”]

Commerce

[*In the margin:* “[He asks] that, in addition to the permission given for the embarkation of cloth and silver, permission be given for two hundred and fifty thousand pesos more; for if they are prevented from sending more than the amount conceded, the royal treasury is defrauded out of a great sum, through the smuggling that takes place.”]

Sire:

Your Majesty's orders are not obeyed strictly in the Indias, either for want of honest officials, or because your vassals would be ruined if your orders were executed strictly and to the letter. One of the most essential ordinances is that of the permission that your Majesty has been pleased to give to your vassals of these Filipinas Islands for [exporting] two hundred and fifty thousand pesos in cloth, and the provision that the proceeds therefrom shall not amount to more than five hundred thousand pesos of silver. It neither has been nor is observed; for if

the officials were strict in not allowing more to be exported than your Majesty's ordinance states, then the merchants would do it privately, and as they could find means, and outside of the town; and there would be no remedy for it. The same takes place at the return of the [investment in] silver; and after that the truth could not be ascertained. This trouble can be obviated if your Majesty would be pleased to grant the vassals of these islands the favor to permit them to [send exports] of two hundred and fifty thousand pesos more. For as the people are increasing in number, and are becoming richer, they cannot be maintained, because of the very heavy expenses that vanity causes, unless they can export a greater quantity of merchandise than your Majesty has permitted them to. By that means they cheat your royal duties, and also by not paying the freight-charges in your galleons, although those payments are the backbone of your Majesty's treasury. By those funds the said islands are sustained, as are also the soldiers and sailors, and the galleons and other ordinary expenses – a great sum. I petition your Majesty to be pleased to have this matter examined in your royal Council; and to order me to execute what is most fitting for your service, as far as may be possible. But since I am but one man in this region, I have no one to aid me, and I shall not be able to carry out my wishes. Another means occurs to me, namely, for your Majesty to be pleased to grant tacit permission to your governor that, for all the goods exported over and above the amount permitted, he may strike a bargain with the said inhabitants, and oblige them to pay here all the duties and freight-charges that they would pay if such cloth were registered. This meas-

ure has one great drawback – namely, whether your Majesty can find vassals who will serve you as governors, whose consciences are so well regulated that they will serve you as is just. Therefore, Sire, I think it better, in order to obviate so great a loss as your Majesty suffers in your royal treasury, for you to be pleased to grant permission for the two hundred and fifty thousand pesos, whether to ecclesiastics or to laymen; and to order, under severe penalties of life or of loss of office in your royal service, that it be executed or observed inviolate. Account must also be rendered to your Majesty in this matter, in which there is so much corruption in all the Indias and in these islands – with flagrant violation of law, since it has obliged me to go in person to perform the duty of a royal official by lading the vessels myself, and not permitting any consignment outside the register. The governors cannot always do that personally, because of the many occupations and responsibilities imposed by government. In consequence, they are forced to entrust it to your Majesty's vassals, on whom the same penalties are laid and executed as are laid by your Majesty on your said governors. I discharge my conscience, and am awaiting the resolution that your Majesty may be pleased to take in this matter. May our Lord preserve your Catholic person in its greatness, as is necessary to Christendom. Manila, June last, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six. Sire, your Majesty's vassal kisses your feet.

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

[*Endorsed*: "June 17, 1638. Let there be no innovation."]

Chinese

[*In the margin*: "He says that the pagan Indians pay annually, for the general license given them, permitting them to live in those islands, nine pesos less one real; and that they live in a place called the Parián, from which they went out. And having brought them back to it, they asked permission to go to live in other places; and it was given them, by their paying ten pesos."]

Sire:

The heathen Chinese who live in these islands and come to trade with the vassals of your Majesty, pay annually nine pesos less one real for the general license which is given them for permission to live in your Majesty's lands, and by way of recognition. They live in a place which has been built for them near the Manila walls, called in their language "the Parián." Many of them have gone to live outside in the stock-farms and gardens of the inhabitants, and in other parts, because of their convenience, without permission of the government. At petition of the city, I ordered an edict to be issued, ordering that all of these Chinese should return to live in their Parián, and most of them did so. Afterward, they asked with many requests and petitions to be allowed to return to live at their posts. That favor was permitted them, on condition of the payment of ten pesos two reals in place of the nine pesos less one real for their general licenses, and, in addition to this, the half-annats for the favor – the even ten pesos being for your Majesty's treasury, and the two reals for the printing of the said licenses, and for the judge, notary, chief constable, and other officials in the

matter of the licenses, who issue them and collect the silver, in which your Majesty has a profit of nine reals from each one of those licenses. Those people have no room in their own land; and when they come in their ships to bring their merchandise to this city, many come who remain. In order that that number may not increase so much, it is ordered that they be returned in the same ships, after giving them the good usage and treatment that is shown them at present. They are so contented that, with but a message sent them by their alcalde-mayor [requesting] that they aid his Majesty with [a grant of] four thousand pesos for the erection of a bulwark which has been begun, to be built in the port of Cavite, they gave that sum very willingly, without making any opposition, and offered whatever else remained in their [communal] fund. For these reasons and for others, especially for the favors and kind treatment that are accorded them, I am obliged to petition your Majesty to be pleased to grant me permission, so that, setting before them skilfully and discreetly the necessities of your Majesty for maintaining the fortifications of the port and of this city, all the remainder of the said licenses may be paid at the rate of ten pesos two reals apiece. This will increase your Majesty's revenues by eighteen or twenty thousand pesos, and this additional income will remain in your royal treasury. I will assure to your Majesty, with the signatures of many theologians and the opinions of learned jurists, your [peace of] conscience and mine; and also by managing it with so much mildness that they themselves will ask it. That has been done by the four or five thousand Chinese who now pay it. By means of this aid and others which

are being arranged, I preserve the authority of your Majesty, and free your conscience; and, provided that no one steals anything from your royal revenues, the support of these islands will be arranged for, without any help from Nueva España beyond the proceeds of the merchandise carried by the galleons. But by following this plan I have no need of anything else except that your Majesty be pleased to grant me permission to do this. May our Lord preserve your Majesty's Catholic person, as is necessary to Christendom. Manila, the last of June, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six. Your vassal kisses your Majesty's feet.

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

[*Endorsed*: "The governor of Filipinas to his Majesty, June 30, 1636. Revenue matters. June 10, 1638."

"Let this matter be looked up, and see whether anything has been enacted concerning it; and take it to the fiscal, with whatever notices there are concerning it."

"Nothing has been enacted."

"The fiscal declares that it is written in this letter that there are four or five thousand Chinese who are now paying this duty, and that it can be increased to eighteen or twenty thousand pesos of income, while the additional sum that will be paid by each one will not amount to more than nine reals. That cannot be, except by admitting into the Filipinas Islands as many more thousand Chinese, as they say, as will amount to pesos. That will be running great risk, as is well known, especially in islands so remote and so sparsely settled. And if before, when there were so few Chinese, so careful provisions were made to

have them remain shut up within their Parián, so that they could not make any changes in the condition of those islands, one would think that not without danger can this be changed, with the people who come in the ships, which they are commencing to do there. Besides that, to raise the impost on his own authority, without having informed the Council thereof until after it was executed, is a matter that furnishes a very bad example; and since the amount concerned is so small as thirty-six thousand reals (at nine reals apiece, on the four thousand pesos [*sic; sc.* Chinese] who he says are there), it is not desirable to risk for that sum the government – which, it has been found by experience, is without danger – and to expose it to the possibility of danger. Therefore he petitions that it be ordered that no innovation be made. Madrid, June 30, 1638.”

“ July 28, 1638. Have the governor informed that, considering all the circumstances that he sets forth in his letter, the measure for benefiting the imposts for the royal treasury does not appear improper; but that it will be necessary to consider very carefully how this increase of duties may be attempted and obtained. For in order to obtain that increase we cannot risk the commerce, which must be considered with the coming of the Chinese, as it conduces to the benefit of those islands; nor also the security of the country, if their numbers be greatly multiplied. For it seems that this will be necessary, if the money were to increase to so great a sum as he mentions. Have the matter entrusted to the governor himself and to the Audiencia, so that, after weighing the advantages of this measure with the advantages which might occur in its execution, and considering

all the above, the decision which shall be most to his Majesty's service and that of his royal Audiencia may be made; and that they shall report whatever they do to the Council. Have the Audiencia notified to the same effect."]

Sire:

A communal fund was established in the Parián or alcaicería of the Chinese, who are called Sangleys, in the time of Don Alonso Faxardo de Tença, and with your approbation given April 8, 1622. Each Sangley pays into it three tostons annually, in two payments. The ministers of justice of the said Parián are paid from that fund, as are those who live there to administer the holy sacraments, in case that some [of the Sangleys] are converted — namely, two fathers of St. Dominic. That fund also takes care of the works that your Majesty needs; and the requisite sum is furnished from it for the payment of the laborers, so that they may go willingly, and so that no other assessment need be made. With the consent of the Sangleys, Don Juan Niño de Tabora assigned from this communal fund a salary for a minister to administer the holy sacraments to the Chinese living in the town of Santa Cruz, on the other side of the river, which is in charge of the fathers of the Society of Jesus; for the said Don Juan Niño deemed that necessary. But at his death, and when an attempt was made to collect that stipend belonging to the minister of Santa Cruz, the fathers of St. Dominic refused to pay it, but on the contrary went to law about it with him. And as if they were a party in this, they brought a very strenuous suit against him, before my predecessor, Don Juan

Cereço Salamanca, who gave sentence in favor of the fathers of the Society. That sentence was appealed to the royal Audiencia, and although Don Juan Cereso judged, and rightly, that there was in this matter no appeal to the Audiencia, as it was purely a point of government, he did not dare to prevent the appeal, but allowed it to pass. Upon my arrival at this island, I found this suit in the stage of petition; and, esteeming it to belong to the government, I suspended the suit, and ordered that the sentence and decree of Don Juan Niño de Tabora be carried out. The fathers of St. Dominic were angry at that, but surely without any reason, as it was none of their business – although they had so possessed themselves of the communal fund of the Parián, and so controlled it, that in the fourteen years since it was established, they have used it to get more than one hundred thousand pesos from it for matters peculiar to their order. That has been an excess and irregularity that the governors should not have allowed, as is apparent from the accounts which I ordered the accountant Juan Bautista de Çubiaga to audit on this occasion. The Sangleys of Santa Cruz and of the jurisdiction of Tondo, seeing how small was the benefit that they derived from the communal fund of the Parián, and that it was converted only to the welfare of the Sangleys of the Parián and of the fathers of St. Dominic, petitioned me to be allowed to have a separate communal fund in Tondo. Considering that they were asking for justice, for Don Alonso Faxardo, who established the said fund, declared May 4, 1622, that whenever the said Sangleys thought that they could not endure the said fund, and whenever they should oppose it and peti-

tion that it be not continued or kept up, it would be proper to have it cease – in conformity with that, I, seeing that a number of the Sangleys of the villages of Santa Cruz and Tondo were opposing (and rightfully, as the fund of the Parián was of no use to them) the payment by them, as by the others, of three tostons annually for each person, and that they were asking for a separate fund for Tondo, which should be entrusted to the alcalde-mayor, I granted it to them. I was also influenced by the service which the Sangleys of Santa Cruz offered to perform for your Majesty, as I shall immediately relate – namely, that the alcalde-mayor of Tondo should be paid from this fund, and thus the salary paid him from the royal treasury would be saved; while in the works that offered, your Majesty would be better served by having two communal funds – one in the Parián, and the other in Tondo. Therefore will your Majesty be pleased to confirm this action accordingly, for it is beneficial to the royal treasury. May our Lord preserve the Catholic person of your Majesty, as is necessary to Christendom. Manila, the last of June, 1636. Your vassal kisses your Majesty's feet.

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

[*Endorsed*: "Manila. Government matters. 1636."

"June ten, six hundred and thirty-eight."

"Ascertain whether anything has been written about this matter by the previous governors, and take it to the fiscal to be examined, together with what advices there are concerning this."

"It does not appear that the governors have written anything about this."

"The fiscal declares that since there are interested parties in this separation of the communal fund

(namely, the Chinese of the Parián and those of Tondo), and since there is a suit pending between the two orders of St. Dominic and the Society, he cannot decide upon this matter until the parties have been heard in court, and the dispute between them settled according to law, especially if the facts are not evident by other authentic papers in this case which justify it, besides only this letter of the governor. Consequently, he opposes the approval that is requested, until he can examine in greater detail the things mentioned here by a more thorough knowledge of the cause, after the parties have been cited in court. Madrid, June 30, 1638."

"July 24, 638. The new governor who shall go [to the islands] shall, together with the Audiencia, investigate the matter."]

[*In the margin:* "He proposes names for protector of the Chinese; and in the meantime, Doctor Luis Arias de Mora is appointed, to whom are assigned two hundred pesos in addition to the eight hundred that he receives as a salary, so that he may exercise his duties as the archbishop's counselor jointly with this office."]

Sire:

Your Majesty has ordered that your fiscal shall not be protector of the Chinese who live near the city, and that six persons be proposed so that your Majesty may choose according to your pleasure. All the time while I have been in this government, the said Chinese have been without a protector. Thus I have had the care and task of administering justice to them; and, although they have an alcalde-mayor, they are satisfied only with what rulings the government makes. This royal Audiencia has only three

advocates – or four, counting Doctor Ledo, who is at present serving as your Majesty's fiscal. I have appointed Doctor Luis Arias de Mora, who is the senior, and a person of excellent abilities, to attend to this matter until your Majesty shall order otherwise. Licentiate Nicolas Antonio de Omaña is also a good person, as is Licentiate Manuel Suarez de Olibera, who is serving as auditor-general and my assessor. I have assigned two hundred pesos additional salary to the eight hundred of the protectorship to Don Luis Arias de Mora; for, in addition to exercising this office, he is the archbishop's counselor. Therefore he despatches and performs what pertains to him in ecclesiastical matters, without meddling with the royal patronage and jurisdiction of your Majesty, as the archbishop has tried to do hitherto. By that means I think that the archbishop will be quiet, and we shall be able to live in peace. Doctor Luis Arias is a person who merits honor from your Majesty by giving him this charge, in which he will be excellently employed. May our Lord preserve your Majesty's Catholic person, as is necessary to Christendom. Manila, the last of June, 1636. Sire, your vassal kisses your Majesty's feet.

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

[*Endorsed*: "January 8, 637. Have him notified to observe the ordinance of November 22, 636, so that he may avoid new expenses of the treasury, and that no more salary be given than what is ordered."]

Encomiendas

Sire:

Your Majesty has ordered that when persons who have been given encomiendas, and who have served in the islands, leave them, their encomiendas fall

vacant, in order that they may be given to the most deserving who remain. Some persons have been able to negotiate and to obtain from your Majesty the favor and grace of being able to enjoy them for ten years, even though they live in Nueva España. Such are the adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, whose services and those of his father well deserve that honor and reward from your Majesty; also Don Fernando de Silva, of the Order of Santiago, who, because of the death of Don Alonso Faxardo, governed these islands with general approbation, and has served your Majesty for many years in the States of Flandes with the same approbation. Besides these, there are three others to whom your Majesty has granted the same favor, namely: Don Andres Perez Franco, who, although he has served for many years, and well, in the States of Flandes and in these islands, as he occupied good positions, took away from them one hundred thousand pesos, which is sufficient pay and remuneration for a soldier; besides that, the marquis of Cerralbo has given him a post in Nueva España in the castle and government of Vera Cruz. There are two other encomenderos: Don Fernando Centeno, who also took one hundred and fifty thousand pesos from here, and who also has been occupied and busied in the best posts of Nueva España by the same viceroy; and Esteban de Alcazar, who took two hundred thousand pesos from here, to whom your Majesty had granted, as a reward, the government of Terrenate, but which he refused. As regards the services of Don Fernando Centeno, the soldiers speak of him with but scant respect. He was condemned to lose his head, for having refused to fight under Don Geronimo de Silva, on an occa-

sion when they let the Dutch enemy escape, although the Spaniards could have punished their boldness; and also on other occasions, it is said that they did not proceed as honorable soldiers. I cannot attest to your Majesty what I have not seen, but the above is his reputation here. But granting that, and that one is occupied and the other does not admit of so honorable a post, it renders those who have served well, and are here at present, very disconsolate to see the former rewarded and very rich, and the latter poor and with no reward. And determining to inform your Majesty of all these reasons, and obeying the general decree by which no one may enjoy an encomienda if he leave these islands, and another special decree issued very recently, in which your Majesty is pleased to order some of the largest encomiendas to be assigned to the royal treasury, in order to give the religious the wine and oil which you have been pleased to grant them as a favor, so that it may not be necessary to take it from your royal treasury as has been done hitherto – I gave orders to the royal officials to place the proceeds of the three said encomiendas in the royal treasury, until, after your Majesty were informed of all the reasons which I present from here, you might order what is most advisable and is your pleasure.

I petition your Majesty to be pleased to order that these consequences be not allowed; for with them, all those who should have ordinary favor with the viceroys of Nueva España, will take measures to obtain rewards there, seeking to enjoy at the same time those grants which they have here also in encomiendas, and will solicit that favor from your Majesty through third persons. This is to the injury and disappoint-

ment of those who remain here, as I say above; and others will not be encouraged to come here, when they see beforehand the great troubles that they will undergo before they can merit and obtain some [reward] for living in so uncertain a country.

Some of the encomiendas here are very large, having incomes of from one to four thousand pesos. If your Majesty be pleased to give me permission, so that they may be reduced to five hundred pesos, by dividing these among those who best deserve them, and are poorest, all will be rewarded and paid; and there will be much to give, and also to place in your Majesty's royal treasury. The services [rendered] in these regions, Sire, are not so arduous that this should not be a good and sufficient reward, although those who are from Flandes know better how to exaggerate them. I shall await your Majesty's order, for I have not learned in so many years aught else than to obey. May our Lord preserve your Majesty's Catholic person, as is necessary to Christendom. Manila, the last of June, 1636. Your vassal kisses your Majesty's feet.

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

Administrative and financial

Sire:

Your Majesty has conceded to your viceroys of Nueva España authority, in the case of deaths and vacancies in this government, to send commissions to those who are to have charge of military matters; and until the arrival of the regularly-appointed governor you order them to send another governor from Mexico. That has been done twice by the marquis de Cerralbo – once with Don Fernando de Silva, of

the Habit of Santiago, because of the death of Don Alonso Faxardo; and [the other time] with Don Juan Cerezo de Salamanca, because of the death of Don Juan Niño de Tabora. Your Majesty is greatly disserved in all of the things that I shall now mention. First, when the Audiencia was governing the [royal] estate, your Majesty's royal treasury was pledged to more than eighty or one hundred thousand pesos, which they obtained by a forced loan from the inhabitants, by placing soldiers of the guard in their houses, quartering these on them until they lent this money; and the officials spent the money in paying warrants that were ordered to be issued to please the soldiers and sailors. It has been the custom to order those warrants to be despatched so that they might be paid when there should be any money.

As for those poor men, they have not been paid in one, three, ten, or fifteen years. They sell their warrants during such times for the fourth, fifth, or sixth part of their face value; and many have been paid at one hundred pesos for one thousand. The warrants are bought by the servants of the auditors, royal officials, governors, and other ministers, and to them is paid the face value. Thus the poor soldiers are so unjustly dispossessed of [the rewards for] their hardships; and on this account is your Majesty's royal treasury so pledged. In the term of Don Juan Cerezo de Salamanca, more than one hundred thousand odd pesos had been paid in this kind of warrants. Your Majesty having issued a decree, in the time of Don Juan Niño de Tabora, ordering such warrants to be paid at the third of their face value, he began to do so one year with twelve thousand pesos, that he set apart for that purpose. The

said Don Juan Cerezo did not pursue the custom, as he declared that the said Don Juan Niño had exceeded the bounds in the execution of your Majesty's decree. Although this charge was brought against him in the residencia, it was not proved that he had actually paid that sum during his term. It is, however, clear to me, outside of judgment, that his own secretary, while he was judge and collector of the licenses of the Sangleys, who should have deposited that money in your Majesty's royal treasury, deposited a great sum of it in this kind of warrants; and so that it might not be proved judicially, the owners went to receive the money from the royal officials; and while they were there, and almost before their eyes, the said secretary again took it. And perhaps it happened that a soldier, having collected it, would say that he did not wish to return it, whereupon the secretary would give ten pesos for the transaction, and thus obtained his purpose. Although I was so sure and convinced of this truth, nevertheless, as it was not proved entirely in the residencia, I did not wish to render sentence on this point, but instead to send it to your Majesty's royal Council; for I confess, Sire, that if I had committed that outrage, as I have investigated it, I would be of the opinion that your Majesty would not be fulfilling your duty, as a just king, if you did not order me to be beheaded. After my arrival at these islands, I immediately set about executing your Majesty's decrees. I ordered, by an act, that all those persons to whom your Majesty owed money should come to ask the third of it, the other two-thirds being commuted, so that they could ask it at no future time. All have done it, and up to date we

have paid in warrants of this kind the amount that your Majesty, if so inclined, can have examined from the enclosed certification, as well as what we have saved from the two-thirds that have been commuted.

Returning, Sire, to the trouble that arises from having the persons whom the viceroy sends from Mexico in your Majesty's name to govern *ad interim*, there is no one who does not take back one or two hundred thousand pesos, as agents for the said inhabitants of Mexico. That is very much to the damage and prejudice of this city; for how can the goods of the inhabitants here go, and how can they make any profit on them, if the goods of those Mexicans, which are carried under charge of the commander and almirante and the other officials (the creatures of the governor), are to be sold first? And since those governors only come for one or two years, they do not exercise justice, correct disorder, preserve the authority and jurisdiction of your Majesty, or undertake any other thing than living in peace; being the protectors of all, and good merchants, in order to return very rich; complaining loudly of the hardships that they experienced in coming to serve your Majesty; boasting of the many risks to their lives, and the many expenses paid from their own property; and giving the ignorant crowd to understand that your Majesty is under great obligations to them. All this, Sire, will cease, if your Majesty will send six gentlemen of thoroughly good abilities, soldiers of Flandes, to act as substitutes and who shall have commissions for the future succession to the government, through the death or absence [of the governor]. Such men can bring their commis-

sions, sealed, from your Majesty, and should not come from Mexico. They can be employed here as follows: the first in the fort of this city; the second in that of Cavite, and in the government of the said port; the third in Terrenate; the fourth in the island of Hermosa; the fifth in the office of master-of-camp; the sixth as commander of the artillery, in the office of sargento-mayor, and as governor and chief justice of the Parián, or alcalde-mayor of Tondo. Encomiendas could be given to all of them, as these fall vacant, if they prove to render the services and possess the qualities that are requisite; and they could be changed about in these offices, whenever advisable, so that they might become experienced in the [various] departments. Whenever one of these should assume the government because of the death of the regularly-appointed governor, such should receive the same pay as he; and, if during his absence, that which he should be receiving. I bind myself to provide for all of them, so that they may be contented. I entreat your Majesty to make this resolution, for it is expedient for your royal service. All who should come should be knights of the military orders; so that both the vassals who have rendered homage, and the heathen and other inhabitants, may learn respect and veneration for the persons whom your Majesty assigns to succeed in the government. Your Majesty has many vassals who are soldiers, of the above excellences and qualifications, who would come very willingly if they were given such positions and hopes. If that happens in my time, they will be so well established that many who have served your Majesty well would desire it. The extraordinary

expenses incurred by the royal Audiencia and the greed for the wealth of Mexico will be avoided; and the greed of both must oblige them to be honest and to govern well.

When the residencia is taken from the governors they give it as if they had been imitating Moses or Joshua in their government. For as nearly all the citizens of these islands have come from Nueva España to serve for reasons of justice; and as there are others who do not wish that the present governor should note them as men who swear against the past governor, as he would think that they will do the same with him at his residencia; or so that the governor might not complain of them as having evil tongues; to tell the truth here is a great sin. No one is willing that the governor, when his residencia is taken, should impute any fault to him, or obtain any testimony as to the reason why he came here as an exile. Many other disadvantages arise, that cannot be written. In short, Sire, most people swear falsely; and those who do not, hide themselves, or retire in order not to testify. There are theologians who counsel them that they may deny the truth under oath, in order not to do wrong. This condition ought to be closely examined, and would be remedied by those commissions. Such persons should come from Madrid, and the persons who have to govern should live here.

I petition your Majesty to be pleased to have this matter examined in your royal Council, for it is very important for your service. I discharge my conscience of what is in my care, by advising your Majesty of it. May our Lord preserve your Catholic

person, as is necessary to Christendom. Manila, the last of June, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six. Your vassal kisses the feet of your Majesty.

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

Manila, April 11, 1636. Juan Bautista de Cúbiaga, auditor of accounts and results [*resultas*] of these islands, in whose possession are the pay-checks of the general accounts of the royal treasury, shall certify at the foot of this decree the sum of pesos that have been paid from the royal treasury from the first of July, six hundred and thirty-five, to the last of June, six hundred and thirty-six, to various persons for pay-checks that the royal treasury owes them as pay for serving your Majesty, and for other reasons, by virtue of my decrees regarding the one-third, the owners voluntarily commuting to his Majesty the other two-thirds, in consideration of the needs and debt of the royal estate in these said islands. The certification shall be set forth in detail with the greatest clearness, together with the amount of the two-thirds of which a gift is made to his Majesty.

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA
FRANCISCO DE ORTEGA

In fulfilment of the above decree of Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera y Mendoza, governor and captain-general of these Filipinas Islands, and president of the royal Audiencia herein, I, Juan Bautista de Cúbiaga, auditor of accounts and results of the royal treasury in the islands, certify that among the original pay-checks for credits on the general accounts of the royal treasury for the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, when the treasury was

in charge of the royal official judges – namely, the accountant, Martin Ruiz de Salazar; the factor, Yñigo de Villarreal; and the treasurer, Don Baltasar Ruiz de Escalona – there appear those which will be stated here below, as having been paid to various persons to whom the royal estate owed them, as pay and daily wages, for services performed for his Majesty in various posts of sea, war, etc. [These were paid] up to one-third of their face value, by virtue of the decrees of the said governor – the other two-thirds having been given voluntarily, as a favor and proof of devotion to his Majesty, because of the obligations that were resting upon his royal treasury in these islands, as appears by the memoranda that each person presented, asking that they be paid in this manner, as is set down as in the said pay-checks. Those paid, their numbers in the files [*legajos*] of each department, together with the names of each person, the amount of the principal which was owing them, that of the third which was paid them, and that of the two-thirds which was commuted, are as follows:

[A marginal note reads as follows: “ Certification of the auditor of accounts that the two-thirds commuted by the owners of the pay-checks, amount to

<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins</i>	<i>granos</i>
4,295	0	6
9,923	2	5
12,523	5	3
4,912	1	1
3,095	1	6
34,150	1	9”]

*Factory Department*²³

<i>Number of pay-check</i>	<i>Amount of pay-check</i>		<i>Due to</i>	<i>Amount paid</i>		<i>Amount commuted</i>	
	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins</i> <i>granos</i>		<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins</i> <i>granos</i>	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins</i> <i>granos</i>
35	56	1 11	Juan Talag, an Indian	14	5 11	31	3 0
36	32	0 0	" "	10	5 4	21	2 8
3[7]	12	5 4	" "	4	1 9	8	3 1
38	56	0 0	" "	18	5 4	31	2 8
39	131	3 5	" "	45	6 5	91	5 0
41	423	2 8	7 Indians	141	11 11	423	2 8[sic]
45	336	0 0	"	112	0 0	224	0 0
51	414	4 1[sic]	Pablo de la Oliva (paid one-half)	231	2 0	231	2 0
57	340	2 4	Don Juan Sarapi	113	3 5	226	6 11
62	33	5 2	Cintay, a Sangley	11	1 11	22	4 0
						1,330	0 6

²³ Expenses incurred either directly under the factor—one of the royal officials—or in the trading posts established by the Spaniards.

Pay of the Infantry of Manila

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check			Due to	Amount paid			Amount commuted		
	pesos	tomins	granos		pesos	tomins	granos	pesos	tomins	granos
76	149	7	3	Alferez Andrés de Aguiar	49	7	9	99	7	6
77	280	5	9	Simon Sanchez	93	4	7	187	1	2
78	117	5	9	Juan de Mendoza	39	1	11	78	3	10
79	316	5	3	Domingo de Herrera	105	4	5	211	0	10
80	224	6	4	Alfonso Rosario	74	7	5	149	6	11
81	257	0	5	Antonio Gonzalez	85	5	5	171	3	0
82	370	0	0	Antonio Gonzalez	123	2	8	246	5	4
84	373	5	2	Antonio Gomez	124	4	4	249	0	10
88	219	0	9	Alferez Luis de Villarreal	73	0	3	146	0	6
89	129	2	5	Bartolome Martin	64	0	9	128	1	8
90	292	6	4	Juan de Orgáz	97	4	9	195	1	7
91	96	0	8	Pedro Ponce	32	0	2	64	0	6
92	280	3	0	Juan Gomez Flores	93	3	8	186	7	4
96	77	3	1	Juan Navarro	25	6	4	51	4	9
97	43	3	0	Francisco Rodriguez Caballos	15	6	4	31	4	8
98	70	0	10	Manuel Vicente	23	2	7	46	6	3
103	360	0	10	Juan Martin Roldan	320	7	4	39	0	9
108	72	2	4	Juan Galo	24	0	9	48	1	7
115	48	6	11	Fray Francisco Mexias	16	2	3	32	4	8

Pay of the Infantry of Manila (continued)

<i>Number of pay-check</i>	<i>Amount of pay-check</i>			<i>Due to</i>	<i>Amount paid</i>			<i>Amount commuted</i>		
	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins</i>	<i>granos</i>		<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins</i>	<i>granos</i>	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins</i>	<i>granos</i>
116	35	0	0	José Perez de Nava Jeronimo Enriquez Captain Juan Ruiz Barrientos Julio Alonso	11	5	4	23	2	8
118	263	6	1		87	7	4	175	6	9
120	435	0	8		145	0	2	290	0	6
124	167	4	10		55	6	11	111	5	11
				Said pay of the Infantry of Manila	R[result?]			4,295	0	6
126	505	1	8	Francisco de Leixas Don Juan Dolosit Captain Pedro de la Mata	168	3	2	336	6	6
136	294	7	4		98	2	5	196	4	11
138	221	4	2		73	6	8	147	5	6

Pay of the Infantry of Maluco

<i>Number of pay-check</i>	<i>Amount of pay-check</i>	<i>Due to</i>	<i>Amount paid</i>	<i>Amount commuted</i>
	<i>pesos tomins granos</i>		<i>pesos tomins granos</i>	<i>pesos tomins granos</i>
110	206 5 8	Alférez Juan de Montalvo	68 7 2	137 6 6
111	593 3 8	" Juan Palomo Holgado	197 6 6	395 5 2
112	136 4 2	" Juan de Santiago	45 0 4	91 0 2
114	396 2 0	" Diego Nabon, a Pampango	132 0 8	264 1 4
115	200 0 0	Captain Juan de Mora	66 5 4	133 2 8
116	112 0 0	Geronimo de Atiença	37 2 8	74 5 4
117	510 0 0	Alférez Alonso Rosario Tenorio	170 0 0	340 0 0
118	184 0 3	" Pedro Melendez Marques	61 2 9	122 5 6
119	1,535 0 0	Captain Alonso Serrano	511 4 0	1,023 4 0
120	1,663 0 0	" Don Esteban de Comosa y Losada	554 2 8	1,108 5 4
121	193 3 3	" Don Alonso de Dueñas	64 3 9	128 7 6
122	1,222 4 0	" Don Juan Garcia	407 4 0	815 0 0
123	110 4 4	Alonso Umali	36 6 9	73 5 7
124	54 6 11	Alférez Pablo Garcia	18 2 3	36 4 8
125	354 2 9	" Baltazar de Reyes	118 11 0	236 1 10
126	209 0 0	Captain Rodrigo de Cossa	69 5 4	139 2 8
127	100 2 5	Sisto Ruiz	33 3 5	66 7 0
129	212 5 9	Alférez Martin Lasangan	70 7 1	141 6 8
131	158 7 1	" Pablo Lili	52 7 8	105 7 5

Pay of the Infantry of Maluco (continued)

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check		Due to	Amount paid		Amount commuted	
	pesos	tomins granos		pesos	tomins granos	pesos	tomins granos
132	217	5 4	Alférez Pablo Malanson	72	4 5	145	0 11
133	679	0 11	" Alonso Rosario	226	2 11	452	6 0
134	313	4 10	Alonso Maigal	104	4 3	209	0 7
135	51	5 1	Agustin Ansay	17	1 8	34	3 5
136	189	2 7	Lucas Cavasag	63	0 10	126	1 9
137	329	4 1	Francisco Dumagui	109	6 8	219	5 5
138	553	2 7	Alférez Cristobal Jaron	184	4 2	368	6 5
139	348	0 0	Sergeant Nicolas Ciap	116	0 2	232	0 5
140	303	3 4	Alonso Mangohat	101	1 1	202	2 3
141	397	6 7	Alférez Juan Tubil	132	4 10	265	1 9
142	388	6 2	Miguel Cabalit	129	5 4	259	0 10
143	452	7 6	Alférez Diego Pilata	150	7 10	301	7 8
144	848	5 1	" Agustin Lalung	282	7 0	848	5 1 ^[sic]
145	211	3 6	Andres Naguit	70	3 10	140	7 8
146	400	0 0	Diego Ruiz Galazzo	133	2 8	266	5 4
147	622	5 3	Don Gaspar Dugui	207	4 5	415	0 10
148	203	0 0	Don Nicolas Manuel	67	5 4	135	2 8
149	694	6 2	Andrés Balu, a Pampango	231	4 8	463	1 6
150	250	3 1	Mateo Bela	83	3 8	166	7 5

Pay of the Infantry of Maluco (continued)

<i>Number of pay-check</i>	<i>Amount of pay-check</i>		<i>Due to</i>	<i>Amount paid</i>		<i>Amount commuted</i>	
	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins granos</i>		<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins granos</i>	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins granos</i>
151	1,575	0 11	Juan Tambing	525	1 3	1,050	0 0
152	318	2 6	Ygnacio Maudain	106	0 10	212	1 8
153	300	1 9	Juan de Vergara	100	0 7	200	1 2
155	100	0 0	Francisco de Linares	33	2 8	66	5 4
156	100	0 11	Juan Lauglaug	33	2 11	66	6 0
157	141	0 7	Agustin Niri	47	0 2	94	0 5
158	44	0 10	Pedro Benguit	14	5 10	29	3 0
159	390	4 4	Agustin Tauding	130	1 5	260	2 11
160	58	1 9	Pedro de Mora Salcedo	19	3 3	38	6 6
168	393	2 1	Miguel Suboc	131	0 8	262	1 5
177	1,004	6 1	Captain Juan Campal	334	7 4	669	6 9
178	1,494	4 5	" Diego Bosog	498	1 5	996	3 0
189	783	6 0	Francisco Quico	261	2 0	522	4 0
180	219	0 6	Don Nicolas Banguit	73	0 2	146	0 4
181	115	3 6	Don Lucas Lapor	38	3 10	76	7 8
182	2,061	6 4	Don Marcos Puyat	687	2 1	1,374	4 3
184	152	2 3	Captain Lazaro de Torres	50	6 1	101	4 2
185	254	0 10	Nicolas Rosario	84	5 10	163	3 0
186	47	5 5	Don Angel Manalit	15	7 1	31	6 4

Pay of the Infantry of Maluco (continued)

<i>Number of pay-check</i>	<i>Amount of pay-check</i>		<i>Due to</i>	<i>Amount paid</i>		<i>Amount commuted</i>	
	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins granos</i>		<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins granos</i>	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins granos</i>
187	547	5 1	Alferez Agustin Banal	182	4 4	365	0 9
188	384	3 11	Juan Pay, a Pampango	128	1 0	253	2 1
189	155	2 7	Francisco de Mendoza	51	6 2	103	4 5
190	648	6 11	Lorenzo Soler	216	2 3	432	4 8
191	176	3 9	Bernabé de Aguiar	58	6 7	117	5 2
192	648	4 9	Matheo de Vila	216	1 7	432	3 2
193	319	0 1	Antonio Viscayno	106	2 8	212	5 5
194	171	0 4	Simon Ronquilo	57	0 1	114	0 3
195	399	3 8	Alferez Damian Dalisay	133	1 2	266	2 6
199	920	4 6	Captain Juan Gonzalez Melon	306	6 10	613	5 8
200	414	5 3	Domingo Mangonay	138	1 9	276	3 6

Ordinary Salaries

<i>Number of pay-check</i>	<i>Amount of pay-check</i>		<i>Due to</i>	<i>Amount paid</i>		<i>Amount commuted</i>	
	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins granos</i>		<i>pesos tomins granos</i>	<i>pesos tomins granos</i>	<i>pesos tomins granos</i>	<i>pesos tomins granos</i>
59	569	6 10	Juan de Olea	189	7 7	379	7 3
60	1,019	1 3	Domingo Guimarano	339	5 9	679	3 6
90	66	7 10	Captain Cristobal Franco	22	2 7	44	5 3
91	622	7 8	Jorge Fernandez Grella	207	5 2	415	2 6

Department of Day Wages

33	175	6 0	Cristobal Ramas, calker	58	4 8	117	1 4
36	2,033	7 2	The natives of La Hermita	677	7 8	1,355	7 6
44	118	5 6	Julian de Norona	38	1 10	76	3 6
45	505	2 2	Julian de Norona	168	3 4	336	6 10

Extraordinary

16	666	5 4	The Indians of the village of Taguin	222	1 9	444	3 7
17	500	4 0	The Society of Jesus	166	6 8	333	5 4

Sea of Manila and Maluco

<i>Number of pay-check</i>	<i>Amount of pay-check</i>		<i>Due to</i>	<i>Amount paid</i>		<i>Amount commuted</i>	
	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins granos</i>		<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins granos</i>	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins granos</i>
51	199	4 11	Mateo Mejias	66	4 0	133	0 11
52	476	2 8	Some Indians	158	6 2	317	4 6
54	339	4 10	Francisco de Esquivel	113	1 7	226	3 3
57	67	0 4	Four Indians	22	2 9	44	5 7
58	111	0 0	Juan Flores Merino	37	0 0	74	0 0
63	201	6 2	Sebastian Salvador	67	2 0	134	4 2
66	536	7 10	Jacinto Col	178	7 11	357	7 11
68	617	4 8	Pedro Nuñez	205	6 10	411	5 10
74	233	7 0	Domingo Macabata	77	7 8	155	7 4

Salaries of Alcaldes-mayor

23	97	0 0	Captain Francisco	32	2 8	64	5 4
24	350	6 11	Sebastian Flores	116	6 7	233	7 4
26	87	7 0	Domingo de Urieto	29	4 4	58	4 8
27	53	0 0	Captain Geronimo Nuñez	17	5 4	35	2 8
			Don Christobal de Valderrama			4912	7 7

Pay-checks for the year 1636

<i>Amount of pay-check</i>			<i>Due to</i>	<i>Amount paid</i>			<i>Amount commuted</i>		
<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins</i>	<i>granos</i>		<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins</i>	<i>granos</i>	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins</i>	<i>granos</i>
100	0	4	Juan de Valdimeso	33	2	9	66	5	7
303	2	6	Domingo Vilang, an Indian	101	0	10	202	1	8
109	5	11	Juan del Orduy	36	4	7	73	1	0
126	7	2	Juan del Orduy	42	2	0	84	0	10
91	7	10	Sargento-mayor Andres de Yllesoa	30	5	3	61	2	7
80	5	4	The said Yllesoa	26	7	1	53	6	3
138	0	11	Don Andres Arquerra	46	1	7	92	3	6
127	6	1	Juan Gomez Serrano	42	0	8	85	1	5
791	5	5	Don Pedro Tusiaya	263	7	1	527	6	0
97	1	6	Don Francisco de Agis	32	3	2	64	6	0
305	0	0	Don Miguel de Aguit	101	6	8	203	5	0
137	0	3	Manuel Simon	42	4	0	95	0	3
333	3	11	Pedro de Sisaua	111	1	3	222	2	6
610	0	0	Various Indians	203	0	0	407	0	0
128	6	0	Andres de Mesa	42	7	6	85	6	8
81	6	7	Don Julio Limbout	27	2	2	54	6	5
131	3	3	Andres Dimblá	43	6	5	87	4	10
207	7	5	Luis de Alcazar	69	2	5	138	5	0
156	6	9	Alférez Simon Cornejo	52	2	3	104	0	5
76	3	8	Don Alonso Mocangos	158	6	6	317	5	2
99	4	10	Alférez Esteban de Aldaco	33	1	7	66	3	3
				3,095			1		
							6		

The above is evident, and appears from the pay-checks above referred to, in each of which is the decree of the governor, by virtue of which the owners voluntarily commuted two-thirds of the face of each one, and I refer to it. In order that it may be apparent, and in obedience to the order of the said governor to that effect, I certify this in Manila, June five, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

JUAN BAUTISTA DE ÇUBIAGA

We, the undersigned notaries, certify and attest that Juan Bautista de Çubiaga, whose rubric and name appear to be appended to this certification, is the auditor of accounts and results of the royal estate of these Filipinas Islands. As such, entire faith and credit are to be given to his certification, in and out of court. Manila, June thirteen, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

AUGUSTIN DE VALENÇUELA, notary-public.

ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO, royal notary.

JUAN SERRANO, notary-public.

The governor's decree. The official judges of the royal estate of his Majesty shall certify at the foot of this decree the amount in pesos which they have paid from the royal treasury under their charge from the year six hundred and thirty-two until June twenty-four of the past year, six hundred and thirty-five, on the old pay-checks for pay, salary, or for other purposes, which were owed to various persons; and which, by virtue of their powers and transfers, were paid in entirety by virtue of a decree of the government, to extraordinary persons. [This is to be given] summarily, each year by itself; and [must show] the sum that is distributed each year. Given

at Manila, February ten, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

DON SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA
FRANCISCO DE ORTEGA

The reply of the royal officials. The official judges of the royal estate say that the general books, and the old pay-checks which have been paid by decree of the governors during the time to which your Lordship refers in your order, have been delivered to the auditing department of the exchequer; and that there is no reason for the compilation of such a report by them. They petition your Lordship to be pleased to refer the matter to the auditor of accounts, as he has possession of all the said papers. Manila, February sixteen, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

YÑIGO DE VILLAREAL
DON BALTASAR RUIZ DE ESCALONA

Manila, February twenty-three, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six. Let the auditor [*contador*] Juan Bautista de Çubiaga, auditor of accounts and results in these islands, give the certification that is asked for by the decree of February ten of this year. At the foot of that decree is the rubric of Governor Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera.

ORTEGA

[*Marginal note:* "Certification of the auditor of accounts and amounts – 102 thousand 596 pesos, 1 tomin, 8 granos paid in pay-checks with the authority of the owners."]

In obedience to the above decree of Don Sebastian

Hurtado de Corcuera, governor and captain-general of these Filipinas Islands, and president of the royal Audiencia herein, I, Juan Bautista de Cubiaga, auditor of accounts and results of the royal estate of these said islands, certify that it appears from the original pay-checks which are in my possession belonging to the general accounts of the royal treasury of this city of Manila, for the period between years one thousand six hundred and thirty-two and the end of one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, that the official judges of this royal estate have paid from the said royal treasury a number of pay-checks that were legitimately owing to persons who were serving in the pay of his Majesty, and for other reasons, to other extraordinary persons, by virtue of authorities, cessions, and transfers made to them by the real owners to collect them from the said royal treasury – and who did collect them – and to satisfy with them certain balances of accounts and results that persons who received posts in these islands owed to his Majesty for various reasons. The pay-checks that here appear to have been paid to such persons by virtue of authorities, cessions, and transfers made to them by the real owners, are as follows:

YEAR OF 1632

Pay-check number fifty-two, for seven hundred and fifty pesos, owed to the natives of the village of Candaba, for the value of one thousand two hundred fanegas of rice, which they gave as a bandala in the year one thousand six hundred and fifteen. It was collected by father Fray Francisco de Figueroa, procurator-general of the Order of St. Augustine, by their authorization, on August thirty, one thou-

sand six hundred and thirty-two, by decree of the royal Audiencia which was governing *ad interim*.²⁴

. 750 pesos

²⁴ The above shows the form in which the accounts from this point are entered. For the sake of greater condensation, we have reduced the balance of the document to the following tabular form.

Pay of the Infantry of Terrenate

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check		Due to	Expiration of service	Paid to	Date of payment	Remarks
	pesos	tomins granos					
3	200	0 0	Pedro Roso, a soldier	June 26, 1620	Captain Alonso Garcia Romero Adjutant Alonso Perez Manzano	February 18	Without decree of government.
4	100	0 0	Alonso Barrantes	July 17, 1620		March 15	By decree of Juan Niño de Tabora, and by the advice of the royal officials to pay with this sum and others a balance of 1,000 pesos owed by said adjutant to the royal estate. ²⁵ <i>Idem.</i>
5	200	0 0	Antonio de Asnar	March 10, 1620		"	
7	614	0 10	Juan Pablos de Cisneros	April 2, 1631	Admiral Don Francisco Eguerra	June 4	By authority and decree of Juan Niño de Tabora, to satisfy claims due the royal treasury by Eguerra. Reported by the royal officials.

²⁵ From this and many other entries in these tables, it appears that much of the money reported as paid from the royal treasury never really left it, but that accounts were simply canceled. The benefit of these transactions would accrue to the purchaser of the pay-check, for he bought at a discount from the original holder; and, until the law whereby all the creditors of the royal treasury made a *voluntary gift* to the king of two-thirds of the account was enforced by Corcuera, he could use the pay-check at its face value, thus making immense profits, or canceling his debts to the royal treasury at small cost to himself.

Pay of the Infantry of Terrenate (continued)

<i>Number of pay-check</i>	<i>Amount of pay-check</i>		<i>Due to</i>	<i>Expiration of service</i>	<i>Paid to</i>	<i>Date of payment</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins granos</i>					
14	1,640	5 3	Captain Francisco Melendez Marquez	April 30, 1621	Juan de Santa Cruz, superintendent of the royal magazines in Manila	August 17	By decree of the governor, to satisfy claims of the magazines for a quantity of Castilian wine taken in exchange for work and repair that he made in them for his house.
17-25	1,339	3 6	Nine persons	At various dates	Captain Luis Alonso de Roa	August 25	By authority and transfer of the owners, and by decree of the government and report of the royal officials, as a partial payment of a sum of money charged against Captain Luis de Contreras, ex-overseer of Pintados.
28	50	0 0	Alonso Perez, a soldier	March 18, 1626	Captain Francisco de Rebolledo	September 27	By order of the royal Audiencia.
29	100	0 0	Juan Sevillano a soldier	February 1, 1625	Francisco Ruiz, steward of the royal hospital	September 27	By authority from Juan de Santa Cruz, superintendent of the royal magazines, executor of Juan Sevillano, without government decree.
40-43	793	5 9	Captain Don Pedro Taroc		Juan Aucan, a Sangley	December 11	Collects 517 pesos, 4 tomins by order of the governor, to pay for 60 licenses for 60 Sangleys.

Pay of the Infantry of Manila

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check		Due to	Expiration of service	Paid to	Date of payment	Remarks
	pesos	tominas granos					
7-8	380	4 6	Antonio Caraballo, a soldier Domingo Fernandez, artilleryman (both deceased)	{ June 5, 1628 December 14, 1617 }	{ Adjutant Alonso Perez Manzano }	March 15	With authority and transfers of the executors, and paid by virtue of an order of Juan Niño de Tabora, by the advice of the royal officials, in order to pay claims of the treasury of 1,000 pesos against him.
63	345	5 6	The executors of Juan Gonzalez de Carate, deceased artilleryman	December 3, 1625	Captain Luis Alonso de Roa	August 25	By decree of Juan Niño de Tabora, and report of the royal officials as partial payment of a sum of money charged against Captain Luis de Contreras, overseer of Oton, as heir of the bondsmen of the said overseer.
69	468	5 0	Francisco de la Fuente	December 31, 1629	Captain Gonzalez de Francia	September 3	To pay a charge resulting from the visit.
74	96	2 8	Juan Antonio Tello, a soldier	October 10, 1620	Alférez Pedro Ruiz Suarez		By order of the royal Audiencia to pay the balance remaining to him in his residencia as corregidor of Calamianes and Ybalon.
122	222	5 5	The executors of Pascual de Aguilar, deceased	January 22, 1622	Francisco Gomez, of the exchequer	December 22	By decree of the royal Audiencia, paid 103 pesos, 4 tominas, to pay general licenses granted to Sangleyes.

Pay of Seamen

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check		Due to	Expiration of service	Paid to	Date of payment	Remarks
		pesos tomims granos					
24	300		Francisco Sanchez, sailor	November 20, 1630	Captain Luis Alonso de Roa	August 25	By order of Juan Niño de Tabora and report of the royal officials, as partial payment of the sum of money charged against Captain Luis de Contreras, overseer of Oton, as heir of the bondsman of the said overseer.

YEAR OF 1633 *Pay of the Infantry of Manila*

6	325	2	3	The executors of Pedro de la Mata, deceased	October 1, 1628	Father Fray Diego de Toro, O. P.	January 19	Paid by decree of royal Audiencia for payment of a number of licenses for Sangleyes.
123	343	0	7	Bartolome de Arana, deceased	June 20, 1631	General Fernando de Ayala, his executor	December 17	By decree of Juan Cerezo de Salamanca, as partial payment for charge [<i>resulta</i>] of 600 pesos against him for a bond that he gave to the royal treasury.
124	240	3	11	Agustin de la Cruz, soldier	October 5, 1628	General Fernando de Ayala	"	<i>Idem.</i>

War—Maluco

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check		Due to	Expiration of service	Paid to	Date of payment	Remarks
	pesos tomins granos						
10	300	0 0	Alférez Rodrigo de Orozco	June 25, 1624	Doña Catha- lina de Santillan	July 19	With authority from Oroz- co, and by decree of the royal Audiencia.
12	147	4 9	Francisco Rodriguez, a soldier	December 31, 1632	Pedro de Cuellar	August 2	With authority from Rod- ríguez and by decree of the royal Audiencia.
14	1,741	5 3	Captain Luis Martin, a Pampango	May 10, 1623	The castellan, Gonzalo Ronquillo	September 30	With authority from Mar- tin, and by decree of Juan Cerezo de Salamanca.
41	1,134	0 0	Garcia de Melo, a calker	March 6, 1633	Don Pedro de Almonte	December 30	Collects 600 pesos with authority from Melo, and by decree of Juan Cerezo de Salamanca.
46	862	0 3	Marcos Hernandez, a soldier	August 17, 1621	Captain Juan Nicolas	January 3, 1634	Collects 410 pesos with authority from Hernandez, in payment of a charge against him [<i>i.e.</i> , Nicolas] because he had received more pay than was due him; and without any de- cree.
47	400	0 0	Captain Nico- las Maniris	February 1, 1631	Captain Juan Nicolas		Collects 197 pesos for the same purpose as above.

Department of Day Wages

<i>Number of pay-check</i>	<i>Amount of pay-check</i>		<i>Due to</i>	<i>Expiration of service</i>	<i>Paid to</i>	<i>Date of payment</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins granos</i>					
5 } 8 }	567	5 0	Various San- gleys	At various dates	The Sangleyes	February 17	By decree of the Audiencia, for the payment of 66 li- censes, there being collect- ed 497 pesos, 4 tomins, 6 granos.
22	457	7 0	Fifteen San- gley stonecut- ters of the is- land of Her- mosa	May 9, 1629	Fray Francis- co de Acosta, procurator- general of the Order of St. Dominic	September 17	With authority and transfer from the Sangleyes, and by decree of Governor Don Juan Cerezo de Salamanca.

YEAR OF 1634

Extraordinary

13	750	5 4	The natives of the village of Bang-bang in the prov- ince of Panay	1601	Procurator- general of the Order of St. Augustine	August 1	For the two-thirds of the cost of the church built in 1601 for the said village, which two-thirds are due from the king. The procu- rator collects 650 pesos, 4 tomins. Paid by decree of Governor Juan Cerezo de Salamanca, and with au- thority from the debtors.
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Extraordinary (continued)

<i>Number of pay-check</i>	<i>Amount of pay-check</i>		<i>Due to</i>	<i>Expiration of service</i>	<i>Paid to</i>	<i>Date of payment</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins granos</i>					
15	333	2 8	The Indians of the village of San Miguel	1627	Procurator- general of the Society of Jesus	September 18	They ought to have had 533 pesos, 2 tomins, 8 granos (two-thirds of the sum which they were taxed for the stone house built for the minister of the said village, and which his Majesty was to pay). Collected with authority and transfer of the Indians, and by decree of the governor.
18	300		The Indians of the village of Magaldan		Procurator- general of the Order of St. Dominic	September 14	Due for the third of the church built in the said village by permission of Governor Juan de Silva, and which the king was to pay. With authority and transfer of the Indians, and by decree of the governor.

Department of Day Wages

<i>Number of pay-check</i>	<i>Amount of pay-check</i>		<i>Due to</i>	<i>Expiration of service</i>	<i>Paid to</i>	<i>Date of payment</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins granos</i>					
60	114	1 0	Francisco, slave to Diego Fernandez Torralva	June 30, 1618	Diego Lopez Saavedra, ex- ecutor of To- rralva	December 9	Due for daily wages on royal works. Collected to pay a charge against Pedro de Valdes. With- out decree by the govern- ment.

Department of Ordinary Salaries

48-49	2,765	4 11	Licentiate Andres de Alcazar, former audi- tor of the royal Audiencia of Manila	July 2, 1622	Alférez Juan de Mirabal Cedeño	June 18	With authority and trans- fer from the heirs of the said auditor, and by decree of Governor Juan Cerezo de Salamanca.
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War—Manila

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check			Due to	Expiration of service	Paid to	Date of payment	Remarks
	pesos	tomins	granos					
7	1,410	5	5	Captain Payo, a sailor	July 7, 1631	Dofia Ana Arias Giron	January 18	Collects 410 pesos, with Payo's authority, by virtue of a decree of Governor Juan Cerezo de Salamanca.
16	119	1	5	Pascual de Aguilar, deceased	January 22, 1626	The castellan, Gonzalo Ronquillo	February 6	By decree of the above governor, to pay certain bonds that he owed to the royal treasury.
71				Juan Francisco de Medina	At various dates	Juan Dias de Yecla, clerk of the exchequer	May 30	By decree of the above governor.
72	729	3	6	Alférez Juan Hurtado				
73				Juan Bernal Jaimes				
84	503	5	3	Pablo de Cervantes	December 12, 1626	Captain Pedro de Almonte	June 19	<i>Idem.</i>
103	356	5	0	Alférez Juan Martin de Vargas	October 8, 1630	Captain Antonio de Lezama, nephew of the factor of the royal estate	July 6	<i>Idem.</i>
94	272	4	0	Sergeant Juan Perez de Aramburo	November 5, 1625	Alexandro Lopez, procurator-general of the Society of Jesus	June 30	<i>Idem.</i>
118				Pascual Rodrigo	At various dates	Juan de Santa Cruz, superintendent of the royal magazines at Manila	August 14	To pay for a quantity of mantas taken from said magazines.
119	1,457	3	0	Pablo de la Ossa				
120				Andres Diaz				

War—Manila (continued)

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check		Due to	Expiration of service	Paid to	Date of payment	Remarks
	pesos	tomins granos					
158	100	0 0	José Vidal	September 26, 1634	Captain Juan Pimentel	September 26	By decree of the gov- ernor.
168	203	0 3	Sergeant Diego de Orozco	February 12, 1634	Diego de Vargas Cordero	October 10	With authority and transfer from Orozco, and by decree of the governor, to pay a charge resulting against him in the visit.
170-176	1,481	3 1	Various soldiers	At various dates	Guillermo Chalon	October 12	With authority from the soldiers, to be used as a partial pay- ment of the balance in the account for the fitting of the ship "Trinidad," which sailed from Nueva España in 1625. By decree of the gov- ernor, and report of the royal officials.
203	933	0 9	Captain Juan de Baquedano	November 6, 1633	Fray Alonso Hidalgo, pro- curator-general of the Order of St. Dominic, his executor	December 9	Collects 250 pesos, by decree of the gov- ernor.

Pay of the Infantry of Terrenate

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check		Due to	Expiration of service	Paid to	Date of payment	Remarks
	pesos tominis granos						
2	300	0 0	Adjutant Juan Heredia Ormentegui Various soldiers	March 20, 1628 At various dates	Captain Silvestre de Aybar The castellan, Gonzalo Ronquillo	January 11 February 6	Collects 100 pesos, with authority of Heredia, and by decree of the governor. With authority from the soldiers, and by decree of the governor and visitor, in order to pay charges resulting against himself and uncle, in the visit.
24	416	4 11	Mattheo San-gal, a Pam-pango soldier Captain Juan Garcia	February 22, 1620 March 12, 1620	General Antonio Carreño de Valdéz Captain Francisco Hernandez	February 13 March 4	Collects 215 pesos, by decree of the governor. Collects 40 pesos on account, by virtue of a decree.
27	240	0 0					
28	857	0 0	Captain Gonzalo Portillo	February 24, 1634	Himself	March 11	Paid to him so that he might go to Caraga, where he had received an appointment as chief accountant, that money being necessary to him, and because he had to take his wife and family. By decree of the governor.
30	462	0 3	Marcos Hernandez	August 17, 1621	Sargento-mayor Melchor de Cortaza	March 27	With authority and transfer from Hernandez, and by decree of the governor, to pay for the articles given from the royal magazines.

Pay of the Infantry of Terrenate (continued)

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check		Due to	Expiration of service	Paid to	Date of payment	Remarks
		pesos tominis granos					
32	100	0 0	Andres Panganiban	April 26, 1626	Francisco Pangan	March 30	Collects 47 pesos, 9 granos, to pay a charge made against him in the visit.
36	4,923	0 0	Juan de Ulex Usategui		Captain Juan Sarmiento	April 13	Collects 3,748 pesos, by decree of the governor, in order to pay the charge resulting against Sarmiento in the visit. The sum due was given to Usategui as alms by various soldiers of Terrenate from the pay owed them.
41	435	6 1	Alférez Nicolas Cavil	March 11, 1631	Captain Jose de Naveda	May 17	Collects 248 pesos, 4 tominis, 8 granos, by decree of the governor, to pay a charge [<i>resulta</i>] that he owed.
42	175	2 6	Juan Bacol, an Indian	May 21, 1634			By decree of the governor.
43	190	3 0	Alférez Matteo Noque	February 29, 1628	Juan Diaz de Yela	May 30	<i>Idem.</i>
45	706	5 8	Alférez Luis Patil	February 15, 1633	Vicente de los Reyes	May 30	<i>Idem.</i>
56 } 57 }	1,145	5 3	Captain Pedro Cid	February 19, 1620	His wife, as the guardian of his children	June 30	Collects 155 pesos, by decree of the governor.
63	302	6 6	Alférez Juan Cabal	November 23, 1619	Juan Diaz de Yela	July 1	By decree of the governor.

Pay of the Infantry of Terrenate (continued)

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check		Due to	Expiration of service	Paid to	Date of payment	Remarks
		pesos tominis granos					
68-71	934	0 0	Four soldiers	At various dates	Juan de Santa Cruz	August 14	By decree.
72	201	4 11	Matheo Sacal	February 22, 1620	General Antonio Carreño de Valdés	August 18	By decree of the governor.
76	100	0 0	Adjutant Juan Sevillano		Alférez Juan de Almansa	August 26	With authority from Se- villano, and by decree of the governor.
84 85	835	4 2	Two soldiers	At various dates	Miguel de Villa- rreal	September 11	By decree of the governor, to pay a balance that Villa- rreal owed to his Majesty.
91-94	1,303	4 5	Four soldiers	"	Captain Geroni- mo de Fuente Cortes	October 5	By decree of the governor, to pay a charge [<i>resulta</i>] which he owed his Majesty.
102-104	458	4 10	Three soldiers	"	Diego de Vargas Cordero	October 10	By decree of the governor, to pay certain charges that he owed to his Majesty.
105-111	2,715	5 10	Seven soldiers	"	Guillermo Chalon	November 12	By decree of the governor, and report of the royal offi- cials, to pay the balance of the fitting out [of the ship "Trinidad"] of the year 1625, which came to these islands.
112-114	749	7 10	Three soldiers	"	Dofia Ana de Cardona		By decree of the governor, to pay the sum owed the royal treasury by her husband.

Pay of the Infantry of Terrenate (continued)

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check		Due to	Expiration of service	Paid to	Date of payment	Remarks
	pesos tomins granos						
126	150	0 0	Francisco Lopez	February 8, 1609	Procurator-general of the Order of St. Dominic	November 3	By decree of the governor.
127	556	6 6	Geronimo de Lamonte	January 23, 1632	Captain Pedro de Rojas	November 3	<i>Idem.</i>
129	100	4 5	Alférez Juan Carreño de Quiroz		Captain Juan de Olaz	November 8	<i>Idem.</i>
130	187	1 5	Alférez Nicolas Cahil	March 14, 1631	Alférez Francisco de Torres	November 18	Collects 185 pesos, by decree of the governor.
132	200	0 0	Pedro de Salinas	January 26, 1624	Procurator-general of the Society of Jesus	November 28	Collects 100 pesos, by decree of the governor.

Pay of the Seamen

35 } 36 } 46 }	650	2 9	Two sailors	At different dates	Esteban Farfan	May 3 ¹	By decree of the governor.
	352	5 8	Bartolome Pacheco	March 16, 1616	Maria Geronimo, his heir	June 12	<i>Idem.</i>
62	529	6 7	The heirs and executors of Juan Perez de Olea	April 22, 1631	Lorenzo de Victoria	July 3	<i>Idem.</i>
73 } 74 }	680	0 0	Juan Zamorano Francisco Reinoso		Juan de Santa Cruz	August 14	By decree of the royal Audiencia, and report of the royal officials.

Pay of the Seamen (continued)

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check		Due to	Expiration of service	Paid to	Date of payment	Remarks
		pesos tomins granos					
95	271	1 4	Juan Diaz	January 2, 1620	Fray Geronimo de Belen, of the Order of St. Dominic	October 6	By decree of the governor, with authority to pay a charge due the royal treasury from some poor Sangleys.
96 } 97 }	894	6 8	Two sailors	At different dates	Guillermo Galon		To pay the balance of accounts owing from the fitting up of the ship above referred to.
98	152	5 8	The heirs of Bartholeme Pacheco, calker	March 16, 1616	Alférez Juan Garcia	October 25	By decree of the governor.
110	691	1 9	Jose Hernandez	July 3, 1633	Licentiate Pedro Tagama	December 12	Collects 350 pesos, by authority and decree of the governor.

YEAR OF 1635

Factory Department

15	60	0 0	Antonio Perez, an Indian ropemaker	August 31, 1617	Felipe Dalo	April 18	Collects 42 pesos, 2 tomins, 6 granos, with authority, to pay a charge resulting against him in the visit.
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War—Manila

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check		Due to	Expiration of service	Paid to	Date of payment	Remarks
		pesos tominis granos					
11	371	5 0	Manuel Pacheco	January 22, 1635	Archbishop Fray Fernando Guerrero	February 9	With authority and transfer.
12	173	3 4	Francisco Rodriguez	January 24, 1635	<i>Idem</i>	"	<i>Idem</i> .
15	302	4 3	Alferez Alonso Ruiz	November 2, 1634	Captain Garcia de Cuadros	February 17	By decree of the governor.
30	180	5 7	Juan Vidal	November 19, 1629	Gonzalo Teran		Collects 100 pesos, by decree of the governor.
36	467	6 11	Hernando Diaz de la Peña	November 31, 1628	Melchor Perez	March 31	Collects 200 pesos, with authority and transfer, and by decree of the governor.
37	269	7 4	Juan de Oria	November 18, 1629	Captain Francisco Lopez de Tezar	March 26	Collects 150 pesos, by authority and decree of the governor.
47	131	2 1	Alferez Francisco de Albornos	September 25, 1634	Blas de Raselez	May 11	With authority and transfer, and by decree of the governor.
62	63	3 6	Bartholome de Espinosa	June 14, 1627	Captain Luis Alonso de Roa	June 16	With authority, to satisfy the charges resulting from the visit.
64-67	1,066	2 5	Four soldiers	At various dates	Captain Luis Alonso de Roa	} June 16	To satisfy the charges resulting from the visit.
66 [sic]	329	3 4	Alferez Diego de Vargas	September 18, 1633	Juan de Olaz		To satisfy the charges resulting from the visit. By authority and decree of the governor.

War—Manila (continued)

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check			Due to	Expiration of service	Paid to	Date of payment	Remarks
	pesos	tomins	granos					
71	277	4	5	Alférez Domingo Perez	November 2, 1634	Captain Alonso Tello de Guzman	June 22	With authority and transfer, and by decree of the governor.
75	267	6	11	Hernando Diaz de la Peña	November 1, 1628	Melchor Perez		<i>Idem.</i>
111-113	846	7	0	Three soldiers	At various dates	Dña Cathalina de Gaona		With authority and transfer, and by decree of the governor, to pay the charges resulting against her husband in the visit, to the treasurer, Juan Ruiz de Escalona.

War—Maluco

1	372	6	5	Andres Perez	February 25, 1633	Dña Francisca Samaniego	January 10	Collects 200 pesos, with authority of Perez, and by decree of the governor.
6	638	6	6	Alférez Rodriguez de Orozco	February 19, 1625	Lope de Sosa	January 22	Collects 300 pesos, by authority and decree of the governor.
10	411	0	3	Luis Latao, an Indian	May 14, 1623	Archbishop Fray Hernando Guerrero	February 9	By decree of the governor, to pay a debt and balance owed to his Majesty by the archbishop's nephew, Captain Gabriel Velasquez, of whom the archbishop was executor.

War—Maluco (continued)

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check			Due to	Expiration of service	Paid to	Date of payment	Remarks
	pesos tomins granos							
11 } 12 } 13 }	145	2	3	Two soldiers	At different dates	<i>Idem.</i>	February 9	<i>Idem.</i>
15 } 16 }	193	2	0	Alférez Manuel Lorenzo	September 12, 1633	Agustin Angel de Carvajal	February 17	By decree of the governor.
	428	4	0	Two soldiers	At different dates	Dofia Ysabel de Guerra	February 27	With authority and transfer, to pay a charge that she owed to the royal treasury.
21	779	2	0	Alférez Esteban de Espinosa	December 20, 1634	Pedro de Almonte	March 9	By decree of the governor.
23	250	0	0	Alférez Geronimo Soman	March 23, 1628	Procurator of the Society of Jesus	March 27	Collects 100 pesos, by authority and decree of the governor.
24-27	1,472	0	0	Four soldiers	At various dates	Bartholome Gonzalez Guerra	March 30	With authority of the owners, and by decree of the governor, to pay the balance of an account which he owed for the fitting up of a ship.
32	200	0	0	Alférez Alonso Vaez	February 8, 1633	Juan de Santisteban Bracamonte	April 28	Collects 62 pesos, 4 tomins, by decree of the governor.

War—Maluco (continued)

Number of pay-check	Amount of pay-check		Due to	Expiration of service	Paid to	Date of payment	Remarks
		pesos tomins granos					
41 } 47 }	137 4	0	<i>Idem</i>	February 8, 1633	Captain Francisco de Arienza <i>Idem</i>	March 26	The balance of the 200 pesos above. By decree of the gov- ernor.
42	200 0	0	Alferez Diego Duarte	March 5, 1633	<i>Idem</i>	"	By decree of the governor.
48	283 7	4	Lucas Capata	April 29, 1634	Juan Colmenares	July 5	<i>Idem.</i>
50	300		Juan de Heredia Juan Ni- colas Various soldiers	{ January 20, 1623 December 23, 1622 At various dates	{ The execu- tors of Juan de Orguëlles Captain Luis Alonso de Roa	June 15	With authority, and by decree of the governor, to pay a charge resulting against Or- guëlles.
43 pay- checks	10,621 1	5				June 16	By decree of the visitor, to pay charges that his father owed for bonds, and which resulted against him in the visit.
96	900 0	0	Seven soldiers	"	Hipolito Centellas	June 22	Collects 200 pesos, by author- ity and decree of the governor
97 } 98 }	800 0	0	Two soldiers	"	Hernando Zerrudo	"	With authority from the sol- diers, and by decree of the governor, to pay the charges [<i>resultas</i>] that he owed his Majesty.

War—Maluco (continued)

<i>Number of pay-check</i>	<i>Amount of pay-check</i>		<i>Due to</i>	<i>Expiration of service</i>	<i>Paid to</i>	<i>Date of payment</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins granos</i>					
99-103	1,412	1 11	Various soldiers	At various dates	The factor, Matheo de Heredia	June 22	With authority and transfers, and by decree of the governor, to pay the charges resulting against him in the visit.
103-105	1,417	2 0	Three soldiers	"	Doña Magdalena de Gaona, wife of the treasurer, Silvestre de Aibar	"	By decree of the governor, to pay the charges resulting against the treasurer in the visit.
162-176	2,394	4 7	Various soldiers	"	Doña Cathalina de Gaona, widow of the treasurer, Juan Ruiz de Escalona		By decree of the governor, to pay the charges resulting against the treasurer in the visit.

Department of Day Wages

4 } 5 }	1,445 6 0	Amgui and Tachaicho, and other Sangleys	July 30, 1633		February 9	For services on royal works. Collected by decree of the governor to pay general licenses for 1635.
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Extraordinary

<i>Number of pay-check</i>	<i>Amount of pay-check</i>			<i>Due to</i>	<i>Expiration of service</i>	<i>Paid to</i>	<i>Date of payment</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	<i>pesos</i>	<i>tomins</i>	<i>granos</i>					
2	1,129	3	4	The natives of Estero de Lobo, in Cagayan	1618	Procurator- general of the Order of St. Dominic	March 3	The amount (one-third) to be paid by his Majesty in the building of their church. Collects 207 pesos, with au- thority, and by decree of the governor, to pay 24 Sangley licenses.
33-43	5,117	7	3	Eleven sailors	At various dates	Admiral Luis Alonso de Roa	June 16	With authority and transfer from the sailors, to pay the charges resulting against him in the visit, and which he owed his Majesty.
44	341	1	9	Jose Hernan- dez, a sailor	July, 1633	Licentiate Pedro Cegavia	June 22	By authority and decree of the governor.
45-47	1,921	5	9	Three sailors	At various dates	Hernando Cerrido, constable of the royal Audiencia		With authority and transfer from the soldiers, and by de- cree of the governor, to pay charges resulting against him in the visit.

Department of Ordinary Salaries

<i>Number of pay-check</i>	<i>Amount of pay-check</i> <i>pesos tomines granos</i>	<i>Due to</i>	<i>Date of last loan</i>	<i>Paid to</i>	<i>Date of payment</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
11	20,000 0 0	The property of deceased persons for loans made to royal treasury	1624	Alférez Juan de Mirabal Cedeño	June 22	Borrowed from the property of Licentiate Andres de Alca- raz, former auditor of the royal Audiencia. Repaid on ac- count, 14,476 pesos, by de- cree of the governor, and with authority and transfer from the heirs of the said auditor.

Salaries of Alcaldes-mayor

<i>Number of pay-check</i>	<i>Amount of pay-check</i> <i>pesos tomines granos</i>	<i>Due to</i>	<i>Expiration of service</i>	<i>Paid to</i>	<i>Date of payment</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
18	111 3 8	Alférez Fran- cisco de los Rios Coronel, ex-corregidor of Catan- duanes	December 6, 1629	Juan de Colmenar	June 5	With authority, and by de- cree of the governor.

Accordingly, all the aforesaid is obvious, and appears from the said pay-checks, whose originals remain in my possession, to which I refer. In order that it might be on record, I certify it at the order of the said governor and captain-general, Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera y Mendoza. Manila, April 15, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six. Amount 102,596 pesos, 1 tomin, 8 granos.

JUAN BAUTISTA DE ÇUBIAGA

We, the undersigned notaries, certify that Juan Bautista de Çubiaga, whose mark and name appear at the end of this certification of eleven pages, is auditor of accounts and results of the royal estate of the Filipinas Islands, as he styles himself. To the certifications and papers of these and other records that he has despatched, touching the said his office, entire faith and credit has been, and is, given, in and out of court. In order that such may be obvious, we signed this in Manila, April thirty, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

ALFONSO BAEZA DEL RIO, royal notary.

FRANCISCO DE LA TORRE, notary of the royal crown.

ANDRES MARTIN DEL ARROYO,

notary of the royal crown.

Reduction of expenses

Sire:

In my endeavor to be a good steward of your Majesty's estate, having noticed and considered the many expenses and the lack of profit that you encounter in these islands, solely in order to maintain in them the Catholic religion, I have thought it advisable to reduce some of the expenses—as your Majesty will please to have examined by means of

the orders for the said reduction, and which your Majesty will please approve or censure, according as you judge it most for the good of your service. My only desire is that God will not ask account from me for doing it badly, and for unjustly causing expense to your Majesty. Although I desire to render your Majesty so just an account, I could not fear it so much as the first, if I gave it as many others of us who serve you do.

I thought it advisable to save the pay of six hundred pesos per year, which a captain receives for serving [as such] in the company that he raised in Mexico; and although my officers are careful to station and retire the guards, and serve as those of the master-of-camp, I see to it that they do it well, and that they are not derelict in their duty. I have given the same orders to the governor and sargento-mayor of the forts of Terrenate, who also have command of two companies; the governor and sargento-mayor of the island of Hermosa, of two other companies; the warden of Camboaga [*i.e.*, Zamboanga], of another; and the alcaldes-mayor of Oton, Cibu, Nueva Segovia, and Caraga, who have a company together, and command their men in the forts in the above-named islands. Also in this army, from now on, a captain will have command of another company, and will receive the pay of the chief guard of the Parián, which will be paid from the communal fund of the Chinese, and his pay will be saved to the treasury of your Majesty. The captains who will serve without pay from your Majesty's royal treasury will thus amount to eleven; and hence a great sum of money will be saved by the end of the year, as well as the [expense for] the post of sar-

gento-mayor of this army, which is held by my nephew, Don Pedro Hurtado de Corcuera – who serves without pay, together with a company of thirty horsemen, whom I thought to be very expedient for your Majesty's service, for the following reasons. First, just as I caused and ordered the raising of four companies among the citizens of this city, in the infantry, in order that they might exercise themselves in the squadrons, and be ready for any emergencies that may arise, I also had two companies of fifty horse apiece raised – one made up of the nobility of the city, who can keep horses, and the other of the overseers of the royal stockyards – all armed with spears. In order that the above horsemen might have someone to instruct and exercise them, this company of thirty horsemen was enlisted. The actual officers in it are captain, *alférez*, and lieutenant. It would be very advisable to raise the number to fifty, if that would be agreeable to your Majesty; for besides being necessary for the guard of the coast, and to keep these nations – the Chinese, Japanese, and Indians – in check, they patrol the city nightly, and shut and open the city gates, on horseback. For that reason the poor infantrymen are excused from patrol duty, and from locking the gates, and thus from going about almost every night knee-deep in water, from which many diseases and deaths ensued; that has been avoided by this means. Experience has demonstrated, also, how useful and profitable these cavalrymen may be when stationed as a troop among the artillery on a campaign, for skirmishing – for which they are greatly esteemed in the Flandes army; and, at the very least, the sight of them strikes terror in those present, and

the noise made by them in those absent. Will your Majesty be pleased to approve and confirm this company of cavalrymen, and grant permission that it consist of fifty soldiers. Notwithstanding the savings and the reductions, of which I inform your Majesty, not only is there no expense incurred in this company but there is even a saving of money for the following reasons. In recent times there have been eight companies of infantry for the guard of the city; but immediately upon my arrival, I reduced them to six. When I sent the reënforcements to Terrenate – for two hundred Spaniards went there in three companies, and one hundred Pampangos (who are as good and as faithful here as are the Burgundians in Flandes) – and the guard of the city remained in four companies, seeing that it was impossible to cover the posts and to stand guard with so few men, I ordered two hundred Pampangos to be enrolled into two companies, so that now there are the six hundred necessary guardsmen. The Pampangos are in place of the two hundred Spaniards who went [to Terrenate]. Seeing that the said Spaniards are lacking, there is nothing but to appeal to the Pampangos; they are being instructed, and are managing their arms in a manner that makes me very well satisfied with them. Both the captains and other officers, and the soldiers, receive half the pay of the Spaniards. Thus the two companies of Pampangos cause your Majesty an expense of ten thousand pesos, and that of the cavalry seven thousand, making a total of seventeen thousand pesos. The two infantry companies which were here before caused an expense of twenty-two thousand pesos or thereabouts; so, if the former expense was this amount, and that of the

Pampangos and the cavalry now is seventeen thousand, there is an annual saving of five thousand pesos to your Majesty. There are thirty more soldiers than before. Will your Majesty please have this approved and look favorably upon it; and believe that I am spending your Majesty's revenue with great care, and that I can have no scruple of conscience in what I am doing. Your Majesty will learn the truth of this by experience, in a short time. May our Lord preserve the Catholic person of your Majesty, as is necessary to Christendom. Manila, the last of June, 1636. Sire, your vassal kisses your Majesty's feet.

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

Revision of pay and rations made September 4, 1635

Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, knight of the Order of Alcantara, member of his Majesty's Council, member of the Council of War in the States of Flandes, governor and captain-general of these Filipinas Islands, and president of the royal Audiencia, resident in the city of Manila:

From the discovery of these islands until now there has been no instruction or fixed order given by his Majesty in regard to the pay and rations which have been and ought to be given to many of the persons who have served and who shall serve in his service in various posts of the sea and in other employments, both in this city of Manila and along the coast and in the port of Cavite, in the shipyards for the construction of ships which are built for the royal service in the provinces of these islands, in the presidios of the islands, and in the voyages to and from Nueva España, Terrenate, the island of Hermosa,

Macan, India, and other places; but the governors my predecessors, and the councils of the treasury, made some regulations, by virtue of decrees from his Majesty (as the matter was referred to them, so that they could decide on what was best). Some of the wages paid were thus very greatly increased, thereby causing, from that time until the present, a heavy burden and debt on the royal estate. So heavy has been this burden that the royal estate has come to so low an ebb by reason of some salaries that are especially excessive, that it is obliged to demand loans quite ordinarily from the inhabitants of this said city; and, because of the heavy loans that have been made for many years, it has been impossible to free itself from its many debts. Now therefore, on account of all these considerations, and because the matter has been examined and considered attentively, as well as the little profit of the royal patrimony in these islands (or rather its many expenses) because of the constant reënforcements of men, money, ammunition, food, and other things that must be sent to the presidios of the islands (which, being many and so distant and separated from one another, meet a much greater cost and expense than his Majesty is told – in especial the great cost of the preparation and equipment of the two ships sent annually to Nueva España for the usual reënforcement of men and the other things that maintain this land; and almost the chief reason for which those ships sail and are sent seems not to be for reënforcements, but only to carry and to bring back the goods of the inhabitants and merchants of Manila, in which they traffic to the extent that is well known, and to so much greater a sum than his Majesty has permitted, at so

great an expense to the royal estate, and little or no profit from the duties and freights that they owe), it is advisable to revise and adjust some of the posts and wages and rations, to abolish some and add others, and to create some new ones which are obligatory and necessary for the service of his Majesty. Therefore, and because it is advisable, according to the present condition of matters, and in order to relieve the said royal treasury and to help it as far as may be possible (as his Majesty commands by various decrees), and in order to attend better to what is obligatory and necessary, and to see that the royal treasury be not pledged so deeply as it has been hitherto and is now, he ordered by a decision communicated and conferred over with persons zealous for his Majesty's service – and he did so order – the official judges of the royal estate of these islands, and all the other persons who administer the royal revenues, both in the royal treasuries of the garrisons at Terrenate and the island of Hermosa, under the titles of accountants, factors, and royal officials, and in the other provinces (whence they come to this royal treasury of Manila to report what has entered into their possession) – each one in so far as it concerns him, or can concern him – to give the necessary orders in his Majesty's name, so that from the first of the month of October next of this present year, and thenceforth, all shall understand what is to be paid and given to the persons who shall serve his Majesty in the posts mentioned in this order, and which will be mentioned in every case. That sum is that which they are to receive as their proper pay; and it must be observed and kept in the following form.

The assayer and weigher of the royal treasury of this city shall serve for two hundred and fifty pesos per annum, without any ration.

The executor of the royal estate shall receive one hundred and fifty pesos per annum, without any ration.

The keeper of the provisions in the royal magazines of this city shall receive a salary of three hundred pesos per annum, without any ration.

The keeper of the provisions in the royal magazines of the port of Cavite shall receive a salary of three hundred pesos per annum, without any ration.

The keeper of the royal magazines, provisions, arms, and ammunition for the forts of Terrenate shall receive a salary of three hundred pesos per annum, without any ration.

The keeper of the provisions, arms, and ammunition for the presidio of the island of Hermosa shall receive three hundred pesos per annum, without any ration.

The keeper of the provisions, arms, and ammunition for the port of Yloylo shall receive a salary of three hundred pesos per annum, without any ration.

The clerk of the royal magazines of this city shall receive one hundred and fifty pesos per annum, without any ration.

The shore-master of the port of Cavite and of all the naval dock-yards there shall receive a salary of six hundred pesos per annum, without any ration.

The overseer at the royal works of all the day-laborers and assistants at the said port of Cavite shall receive a salary of six hundred pesos per annum, without any ration.

The artillery founder of this city shall receive a

salary of five hundred pesos per annum, without any ration or anything else.

The shipbuilder and the master-workman of the works at the port of Cavite shall receive a salary of six hundred pesos per annum, without any ration.

The manager of the powder that is made for his Majesty on the other side of the river shall receive a salary of four hundred pesos per annum, without anything else.

The manager of the rigging which is made in the province of Balayan for his Majesty shall receive a salary of two hundred and fifty pesos per annum, without any ration.

The castellan of the fort of Santiago in this city of Manila shall receive a salary of six hundred pesos per annum, and shall hold the place by virtue of regular appointment. He who exercises that office *ad interim* shall receive one-half that sum, as his Majesty has ordered.

The lieutenant of the said fort of Santiago in this city, who has hitherto been appointed at a salary of four hundred and twenty pesos, is now removed and discharged; for there is no need of him in the said fort, since there is an *alférez* and a sergeant.

There shall be two infantry adjutants in the forts of Terrenate. One shall receive a salary of three hundred and sixty pesos per annum, while the other shall receive ninety-six pesos per annum – the pay of a simple soldier. They shall receive nothing else.

All the Pampango soldiers who serve in the forts of Terrenate shall receive annual pay at the rate of forty-eight pesos of eight reals apiece. They shall be in two companies, which shall be under the com-

mand of the master-of-camp and his sargento-mayor, each of whom shall receive a salary of two hundred and fifty pesos per annum.

The two alférezes of the said Pampango nation shall receive an annual pay of one hundred and fifty pesos apiece.

Each of the sergeants of the said [Pampango] nation shall receive an annual pay of one hundred and twenty pesos.

There shall not be an artillery captain in the forts of Terrenate, for that place is abolished.

The surgeon of the royal hospital for the said forts of Terrenate shall receive a salary of six hundred pesos per annum, without any ration.

The field captain of the said forts shall receive an annual pay of one hundred and fifty pesos, without anything else.

The military notary of the said forts, who has hitherto received a salary of two hundred pesos per annum, shall not receive that sum from the said day and thenceforth; and the accountant of the said forts shall under no consideration pay it to him.

The four substitutes [*entretenimientos*], who were reduced to their [opportunities for] advantage in the said forts of Terrenate, shall be given nothing by way of additional pay or allowances; and they shall not be paid in advance from the said day and thenceforth by the accountant of those forts.

The infantry adjutants of the presidios in the provinces of Çibu, Oton, Cagayan, Caraga, and Cambuanga, shall serve as simple soldiers for the annual pay of ninety-six pesos – the same as the simple soldier – without anything else.

The field *borrechel* (which means the field captain and borrechel in one) shall serve for an annual pay of one hundred and fifty pesos, without anything else.

The military notary, who has been hitherto stationed in this city, with an annual salary of two hundred pesos, shall not receive that sum, and the royal officials shall not pay it to him.

The head drummer shall be paid at the rate of one hundred and twenty pesos per annum – the pay of a musketeer.

The chief gunners – in this city of Manila, he of the fort of Santiago in this city, and those of the port of Cavite, the island of Hermosa, and Terrenate – shall receive annual salaries at the rate of two hundred and fifty pesos.

The apothecary of the royal hospital in this said city of Manila shall receive an annual salary of two hundred pesos, without any ration.

The galley captains of this city of Manila, the port of Cavite, the island of Hermosa, and Terrenate, shall be abolished; for the duties of galley captain shall be performed by the master of the galley. The latter shall receive the royal revenue, and shall give account of it. He shall give bonds to the satisfaction of the royal official judges. He shall receive an annual pay of two hundred and fifty pesos, and, when afloat, the ration which shall pertain to him in addition to the pay; but, when not afloat, he shall not receive anything in addition to the pay.

The boatswains of the said galleys shall receive an annual pay of two hundred pesos without ration, when in port, and when they are afloat their ordinary ration, as aforesaid.

The boatswains' mates of the said galleys shall

receive when ashore an annual pay of one hundred and fifty pesos, and thirty gantas of rice [per month], which must be given them on account of their pay; and, when afloat, the said one hundred and fifty pesos and the ordinary ration, as aforesaid.

The guards of the said galleys of this city, Terrenate, and the island of Hermosa shall be abolished, as they are unnecessary.

The corporals of the said galleys are removed and abolished, for they are unnecessary.

The captain of the said galleys shall receive an annual pay of two hundred pesos, without any ration; when afloat, he shall be given his ordinary ration as an officer of said galley, in addition to his pay.

The pilots who sail on any voyage from these islands shall receive an annual pay of five hundred pesos, besides their ordinary ration, which shall be given them from port to port, wherever they may be anchored; but while not afloat they shall receive only two hundred pesos as an allowance, and nothing else.

The mates of his Majesty's ships shall receive an annual pay of two hundred and fifty pesos, besides the ordinary ration, when afloat, and during any voyage; but when not afloat, even though they be employed on the ships which are to sail on any voyage whatever, they shall receive one hundred and fifty pesos per year, and their ration of thirty gantas of cleaned rice per month, as do the other sailors, and it shall be charged to the account of their pay.

The second mates of the said ships shall receive an annual pay of two hundred pesos when afloat, and their ordinary ration; but in the interval when they are not afloat, even though employed in the ships that are to sail, they shall receive one hundred and fifty

pesos per year, and the ordinary ration of the sailor, of thirty gantas of cleaned rice per month, at the account of their pay, as aforesaid.

All the sailors who are employed and shall be employed on the Cavite coast, and anywhere else, shall receive pay at the rate of one hundred and fifty pesos per year, and thirty gantas of cleaned rice apiece per month. The rice shall be charged to the account of their pay, as aforesaid. When afloat they shall receive the said one hundred and fifty pesos, and in addition the ration that has been given them hitherto.

The Spanish common seamen who are employed anywhere shall receive pay of one hundred pesos per year, and the thirty gantas of rice per month on account of their pay, as aforesaid. When afloat they shall receive their ordinary ration, as do the rest of the sailors, in addition to their pay.

The Indian common seamen who are employed anywhere shall receive forty-eight pesos per year, and fifteen gantas of cleaned rice per month on the account of their pay, as aforesaid; and when afloat, the said pay, and in addition the ordinary ration which has hitherto been given them.

The Spanish carpenters, both those who work in the port of Cavite, and those who work at shipbuilding in other places, shall receive an annual pay of two hundred and fifty pesos, and no more, without any ration while on shore; but when afloat, the said pay, and in addition the ordinary ration, as hitherto.

The chief calker who shall be employed in any place shall receive an annual pay of three hundred pesos, without any ration; but when afloat, the said pay, and in addition his ordinary ration, as hitherto.

The Spanish calkers shall receive two hundred and

fifty pesos per year, without ration while in port; but when afloat, the said pay and in addition their ordinary ration, as hitherto.

The Spanish coopers shall receive each two hundred and fifty pesos per annum, without anything else; but if afloat, their ordinary ration, as hitherto.

The Indian coopers shall receive an annual pay of sixty pesos per year, and fifteen gantas of cleaned rice per month; and afloat, their ration in addition to the said pay.

The diver in the port of Cabite shall receive two hundred pesos per year, and a ration of thirty gantas of cleaned rice per month, which shall be charged to the account of his pay; and afloat, the ordinary ration, as hitherto.

The Spanish boss of the rope-factory at the port of Cabite shall receive an annual pay of one hundred and fifty pesos, and thirty gantas of cleaned rice per month, which shall be paid on the account of his wages.

The two Indian artisans in the rope-factory shall receive fifty-four pesos per year apiece, and fifteen gantas of cleaned rice per month, on the account of their pay.

The Spanish boss of the smithy at the port of Cabite shall receive an annual pay of four hundred pesos, without any ration.

The Indian smiths at the said port of Cabite and in the foundry and arsenal of this camp shall receive – the boss, one hundred pesos per year, and fifty gantas of cleaned rice per month; and the others, the pay that they are receiving. The latter shall all receive fifteen gantas of cleaned rice per month, which shall be charged to the account of their pay.

The Sangley champan men, and sailors in the

champans that belong to his Majesty in any place, shall receive the pay in money that has hitherto been given them, and in addition fifteen gantas of cleaned rice per month, instead of the twenty gantas that have been given them, besides their pay.

The Sangley carpenters and sawyers who are actually working in the port of Cabite and other places shall receive the pay in money that has hitherto been given them; and in addition, fifteen gantas of cleaned rice per month instead of the twenty.

The sawyers of *brazas*²⁶ shall receive four reals for each *braza* one braza long and one vara wide, but nothing else. However, if they prefer rice on their account, it shall be given them at its market price to his Majesty.

The Sangley smiths who work on the Cabite shore and in other places shall receive the pay in money that has been given them hitherto; and, in addition, fifteen gantas of cleaned rice instead of twenty.

The Sangley calkers who ordinarily work at the royal works in Cabite and other places shall receive five pesos per month, and, in addition, fifteen gantas of cleaned rice.

The Indians who are employed to row in the sentinel boat at Mariveles, shall receive one peso in money and fifteen gantas of cleaned rice per month.

The Lascars who are employed in any capacity in Cabite, either on sea or on land, shall receive – the two bosses one hundred and fifty pesos per year, and in addition fifteen gantas of cleaned rice per month; while the others shall receive the pay that they receive at present, and they shall be given in addition fifteen gantas of cleaned rice per month, apiece.

The other two sub-bosses of the Lascars shall re-

²⁶ Probably planks one braza long.

ceive one hundred and twenty pesos per year, and fifteen gantas of cleaned rice per month. All the others shall receive the pay that they received before, and fifteen gantas of cleaned rice per month, besides their pay.

There shall be twenty musketeers in each one of the companies of this city and in the companies of the other presidios outside the city, but no more. They shall be paid at the rate of two pesos per month, one for additional pay for the musket; but no more, inasmuch as each one has been reduced four reals.

The acting sergeants of the company of this said city of Manila, and the others in the presidios outside it, shall receive an increase of two pesos per month, in addition to the ten pesos that they received before, because of the severe labor that they have to perform.

Likewise, the corporals of all the companies in this said city, and outside it, shall receive an increase of one peso per month, as additional pay, besides what they were receiving before.

There shall be no shield-bearers in any company of this said city, or in the other presidios; and consequently, they shall not be paid at his Majesty's account. But the captains shall have them at their own cost, and the captains shall not go without them, nor station the guards without the said page.

The commander of the ships which are despatched annually to Nueva España shall receive a salary of three thousand pesos per annum, besides the usual ration while sailing from port to port – even though he anchor at any other port in the islands, if he reach it in distress, even though it be not the legitimate port whence he sailed.

The admiral of the said ships shall receive an

annual salary of two thousand pesos, and the usual ration while sailing from port to port, in the same manner as the commander.

The notaries of the said ships which sail to Nueva España, or on any other voyage, shall receive one hundred and fifty pesos per year, with the usual ration, as hitherto, while sailing from port to port.

The stewards of the said ships, and those making any other voyages from these islands, shall receive one hundred and fifty pesos per year, besides the usual ration, while sailing in the same manner as above; but when they reach land their pay or ration shall not run on.

The guards of the water on the said ships, and those making other voyages, shall receive one hundred and fifty pesos per year, and their ration while sailing in the above manner.

The office of the controllership of the royal exchequer must be held by such a person as that office requires. For in that office, not only is he under obligation to examine and review the transactions in all the other offices – the paymaster's, the factor's and the chief office [of the exchequer] – but it is instituted from their beginning, and must keep an equal number of books, which must agree with them and be made as they. He exercises the duties of the paymaster, of the factor, and of the chief official of the said exchequer, in order that the despatches made in the said offices may be collated and compared with the duplicates which he shall have made at that same time in his office of the controllership. Finding that they conform, those pay-checks and payments will be despatched more properly. He shall be given

two clerks to help him, at a salary of ninety-six pesos per year, without anything else. He who shall exercise the said duties of the controllership shall receive two hundred and fifty pesos per year, without anything else.

In the pay-office of the infantry, in the accountancy of the treasury, there shall be a chief official, who shall receive three hundred pesos per year, but nothing else. This is the same sum that he has received and is receiving in the said office.

In the said pay-office and accountancy, there shall be a subordinate official with an annual salary of two hundred and fifty pesos, without anything else, which is the sum that he has been receiving.

There shall be two clerks in the said office, so that they may become experienced in the management and handling of papers; they shall succeed to the others who shall be employed in the other higher places; and they shall work there and aid them, because of the press of matters there, as I have been informed. Each of those clerks shall receive one hundred and fifty pesos per year, without ration.

In addition to the chief clerk and the sub-clerk at present employed in the office of the factor of the exchequer, at the pay that they receive, there shall be another clerk; so that he may help them, and so that he may become experienced in the office for the future. He shall receive a salary of one hundred and fifty pesos, without anything else.

In the chief office of the exchequer, there shall be, in addition to the chief clerk and the other sub-clerk, who shall receive the salaries that they have been receiving, another clerk to help them, and to render

himself useful in the office. He shall receive one hundred and fifty pesos, but nothing else. The said clerks in any of the said offices shall be Spaniards.

No powder shall be wasted in salutes for the commandants of the presidios when they enter or when they go out of them, with a fleet or without it, or any other things, in any of the redoubts and forts of this city or in the others outside it—except on the day of the Resurrection and on Corpus Christi. It shall be done with moderation on those days. If they wish to fire salutes on the days of the patron saints of the city of Manila and other places in these islands, it shall be at their own cost; and they shall pay his Majesty for the powder and other things that are used.

Furthermore, after the said day the standard-bearers of the *alférezes* of all the companies of this city, and of those outside the city, shall receive only the half of what they now receive. They were receiving ninety-six pesos of eight reals, the half of which is forty-eight pesos; and they shall receive that sum, and nothing else.

Furthermore, the standard-bearers of the companies of the Pampango nation shall only receive, from the said day and thenceforth, the half of the sum paid to a soldier of that nation, and no more, and the pages of the said nation shall be dismissed.

All the above shall be observed and obeyed and executed, without any violation of it by any other meaning and interpretation that might be given to it in any circumstance, under penalty of being punished as disobedient to the royal commands, so long as there is no change made in them by his Majesty, by myself, or by any other person in his royal name. The

said royal officials, in order that they may so understand it, shall enter this order in the royal books, and shall despatch the necessary orders to the places where that is advisable. The royal officials are to note that the salaries and other payments made in this city, in any manner, must be authorized and paid by decree of the government, as is ordered to them; and not in any other manner, by issuing pay-checks and payments in form. The auditor of accounts shall also take note of this order, so that, in accordance with it, the payments that shall have been made shall be placed in the accounts of the royal estate that he shall audit which shall have been administered not only by the said royal official judges, but by those of Terrenate and the island of Hermosa, and by the alcaldes-mayor, overseers, ship-masters, and all others who in any manner have to do with his Majesty's revenues, and in no other manner. Given in Manila, September four, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five.

DON SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

By order of the governor:

FRANCISCO DE ORTEGA

Also, from the said day and thenceforth, the common seamen who shall come in the ships from Castilla, who shall not be necessary and indispensable in the port of Cavite, shall be dismissed. The same shall be done in the ships that sail to Terrenate and the island of Hermosa, when they shall have returned to Manila. The pay of the said common seamen shall not run any longer than the day on which they pass muster after they shall have anchored. If the said galleons shall be needed for the voyage, they

shall determine what common seamen shall be necessary, a fortnight before the ships sail.

Furthermore, the clerk of the magazines at the said port of Cavite shall not receive, from the said day and thenceforth, a greater sum than one hundred and fifty pesos of eight reals per year, and nothing else.

DON SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

From the said day, the first of October, and thenceforth, all the artillerymen of this city, the port of Cavite, and all the others in all places outside this said city, shall receive one hundred and seventy pesos of eight reals per annum, and no more; and the sum of two hundred pesos that they received before shall cease.

All the corporals of all the companies outside of this city shall receive and enjoy the same pay and additional pay as those of this presidio of Manila, and no more.

The corporals from the nobility,²⁷ who have been in the forts of Terrenate hitherto, and who have received more pay than the other corporals of the companies, shall be dropped and removed, as they are unnecessary.

Furthermore, all the companies which shall be serving in the said forts shall each receive thirty ordinary escudos of ten reals, the same as is received by the companies of this presidio; and they shall cease to receive the thirty ducados of eleven reals which they had before.

²⁷ Spanish, *de guzmanes*; i.e., young men from noble families, who served as midshipmen in the navy, or as cadets in the army.

The corporals of the companies of the Pampangos throughout these islands shall receive and enjoy no additional pay for their office.

The pay of captain, alférez, and sergeant of the Pampango nation shall be understood to be, for all those who serve in these islands, the amount that is assigned in the articles of this revision, and no more.

DON SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

Collated with the original act and revision of pay and rations made by the governor and captain-general, Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera y Mendoza, who sent it to the official judges of the royal estate of these islands so that it might be put in force. I obtained it from them, in order to set it down in his Majesty's books in this auditing department of the royal exchequer, and to make these copies. Then I returned it to them and they have it now. Given in Manila, June four, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

JUAN BAUTISTA DE ÇUBIAGA

Juan Bautista de Çubiaga, auditor of accounts and results of the royal estate of these Philipinas Islands, shall certify at the end of this decree the salaries and wages, and the rations, that have been paid from the royal treasury and magazines to the persons who have served in any naval or military post, or in any other capacity, both in this city of Manila and outside of it, and in its presidios, in former times and until June twenty-five, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, when I assumed the government of the islands. He shall also make a copy, signed with his name, from the revision which I made general, in

the month of September of the said year, of the paid positions in which certain wages and rations that they enjoyed were lessened and reduced, because they were so large. He shall do it all distinctly and clearly, so that the saving that has been made for his Majesty's royal estate may be seen, in order that it might be evident in his royal Council. Given in Manila, May twenty-four, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

In fulfilment of the order given by the above decree of Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, governor and captain-general of these Philipinas Islands, and president of the royal Audiencia herein, I, Juan Baptista de Çubiaga, auditor of accounts and results of the royal estate of these islands, certify that it appears from various books, warrants, and other papers in this royal exchequer that are in my charge, that the various posts necessary to his Majesty's service, both in this city of Manila, and outside of it, and in the presidios, received the salaries which will be stated below, and which were assigned by councils of the treasury, called by the president and auditors and the fiscal and royal officials, in former years and up to June, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five. In accordance with the general revision which the said governor made on September four, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, there has been saved for his Majesty, from the pay and rations enumerated therein – which are the amounts now paid, and those which they formerly received and which were given to those who were employed in the said posts – what appears in each item of the following.

Saved for his Majesty annually

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
The assayer and weigher of the royal treasury received four hundred pesos and one hundred fanegas of rice in the husk per year. His pay was reduced by one hundred and fifty pesos and the hundred fanegas of rice .	150 p.	o	100

The executor of the royal estate received one hundred and fifty pesos per year, and thirty gan- tas of cleaned rice per month. His pay was re- duced by only the ration	o	365 [<i>sic</i>]	o
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The keeper of the provisions and ammuni- tion in the royal maga- zines of Manila received six hundred pesos and one hundred fanegas of rice in the husk per year. He shall receive three hundred pesos only, his pay being reduced by three hundred pesos and the said ration . . .	300 p.	o	100
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Another keeper, he of

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
the royal magazines of Cavite, received three hundred pesos per year, and sixty <i>gantas</i> of cleaned rice per month. His pay was reduced only by the ration .	0	720	0
One person has held the above two places, with a substitute at his own cost, from the year one thousand six hundred and twenty-eight until the present time, at the salary of eight hundred pesos and the said ration. It was badly administered because of the vast number of papers that that keeper made, and one cannot hope to see the end of his accounts.			
The keeper of the magazines and the paymaster of Terrenate received five hundred pesos per year and one <i>ganta</i> of rice daily. His pay was reduced by two hundred pesos and the <i>ganta</i> of rice . . .	200 p.	365	0

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
The keeper of provisions and ammunition in the magazines of the island of Hermosa received a salary of five hundred pesos per year and thirty <i>gantas</i> of rice per month as a ration. His pay was reduced by two hundred pesos and the ration, and he shall receive three hundred pesos	200 p.	365	0

The keeper of provisions and ammunition in the port of Yloylo has quite generally been the purveyor and alcaide-mayor of Pintados, who received seven hundred pesos per year for both places, having everything under his own charge. The amount saved in all three is one hundred and eighty pesos from the three per cent of the six thousand tributes which his Majesty owns in the said purveyorship of Panay and Oton	180 p.	0	0
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	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
The clerk of the royal magazines of Manila received one hundred and fifty pesos and forty-eight fanegas of rice in the husk per year. The revision deprived him of only the rice	0	0	48
The shore-master of Cavite received six hundred pesos per year, and one hundred and twenty <i>gantas</i> of cleaned rice per month. The revision deprived him of only the rice	0	1,440	0
The overseer of the royal works on the Cavite shore received eight hundred pesos per year. The said revision deprived him of two hundred pesos	200 p.	0	0
The artillery founder of this city received seven hundred pesos and thirty-six fanegas of rice in the husk per year. At present he receives only five hundred pesos, for the revision deprived			

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
him of two hundred pesos and the rice .	200 p.	0	36
The shipbuilder and master-workman of the royal works at the port of Cavite received six hundred pesos per year, and one hundred and twenty <i>gantas</i> of cleaned rice per month. He now receives six hundred pesos, but the ration has been taken from him			
	0	1,440	0
The manager of the powder-house received a salary of five hundred pesos [per year]. One hundred pesos were taken from him . . .			
	100 p.	0	0
The manager of the rigging which is made in Balayan received a salary of two hundred pesos and forty-eight <i>fanegas</i> of rice in the husk - all worth two hundred and seventy-two pesos. He now receives two hundred and fifty pesos, thus saving twenty-two pesos .			
	22 p.	0	0
The castellan of the			

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
fort of Santiago in Manila received a salary of eight hundred pesos per year. Now, if regularly appointed, he shall receive six hundred pesos; and, if appointed <i>ad interim</i> , the half of that sum. He who now holds that post, being appointed <i>ad interim</i> , shall receive four hundred pesos; but when one is regularly appointed, he shall be reduced by two hundred pesos	200 p.	o	o

The lieutenant of the said fort of Santiago was ordered to be entirely cashiered, as he had a company of infantry in the fort with an *alférez* and sergeant. This post was again created, because it was advisable that the fort should not be without it; and it was given to *Alférez* Antonio Ysquierdo with two hundred and forty pesos per year.

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
If a captain should hold it, he shall receive three hundred pesos. He who held this post before received four hundred and twenty pesos. One hundred and twenty pesos are saved . . .			
	120 p.	o	o
Furthermore, two hundred and forty pesos are saved which were taken from the alférez when the post of lieutenant was again created			
	240 p.	o	o
There are two adjutants of the sargento-mayor in the forts of Terrenate, who receive four hundred and twelve pesos four tomins apiece, per year. Now one of them shall receive three hundred and sixty pesos per year, and the other ninety-six pesos, a total of four hundred and fifty-six pesos. The revision saves three hundred and sixty-nine pesos . . .			
	369 p.	o	o
There are two infan-			

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
try companies of the Pampango nation in the said forts of Terrenate, which formerly had two hundred soldiers, count- ing the captains and other officers, or one hundred and ninety- four simple soldiers. They received formerly seventy-two pesos apiece per year. Now and henceforth they shall re- ceive forty-eight pesos per year apiece, the re- vision depriving them of twenty-four pesos apiece. That makes a total saving of four thousand six hundred and fifty-six pesos for the one hundred and ninety-four soldiers .	4,656 p.	o	o

The two captains of those two companies received two hundred and eighty-eight pesos per year—a total of five hundred and seventy-six pesos. They shall now receive two hundred and

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
fifty pesos apiece, or a total of five hundred pesos, making a saving of seventy-six pesos .	76 p.	o	o
The two alférezes of the two companies of the Pampango nation received one hundred and ninety-two pesos per year apiece, a total of three hundred and eighty-four. Now they receive one hundred and fifty pesos apiece, a saving of eighty-four pesos	84 p.	o	o
The two sergeants of the said nation received one hundred and forty-four pesos apiece. Now they receive one hundred and twenty apiece, a saving of forty-eight pesos	48 p.	o	o
There was an artillery captain in the said forts of Terrenate, who received four hundred and eighty pesos per year. This post has been entirely suppressed .	480 p.	o	o
The surgeon of the			

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
hospital of Terrenate received six hundred pesos per year and two rations which amounted to forty-eight maravedis daily. He was deprived of only the ration, which is worth sixty-four pesos three tomins three granos	64 p. 3t. 3g.	o	o
The field captain of the said forts of Terrenate received three hundred and thirty pesos per year. Now he receives one hundred and fifty pesos, thus saving one hundred and eighty	180 p.	o	o
The military notary of the said forts received two hundred pesos per year. That pay is abolished entirely	200 p.	o	o
There were four substitutes [<i>entretenimientos</i>] in the forts of Terrenate. They were reduced to opportunities for profit, of various amounts, in order to distribute that money			

Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
among half-pay alférez- es. Each substituteship was worth four hundred and fifty pesos, or a total of one thousand eight hundred pesos. This was abolished entirely 1,800 p.	o	o

In this camp of Manila, in its presidios, and in those of Cibu, Oton, Cagayan, Caraga, and Camboanga, there are five adjutants of the sargentos-mayor. Each received one hundred and eighty pesos. Now they receive ninety-six pesos apiece, thus saving eighty-four pesos on each one, or a total for the five of four hundred and twenty pesos . 420 p.

There was a field captain in this city of Manila, who received one hundred and eighty pesos per year, and a field borrachel who received ninety-six pesos per year. One person shall serve in these two posts

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
for one hundred and fifty pesos, thus saving one hundred and twen- ty-six pesos . . .	126 p.	o	o
The post of the mili- tary notary, which was paid two hundred pesos per year, has been en- tirely abolished and taken from the person who exercised it in this city of Manila . . .	200 p.	o	o
The chief drummer of this camp of Manila received one hundred and twenty pesos per year. He receives the same now, and has been reduced in nothing .	o	o	o
The chief gunners of the artillery—in this city of Manila, he of the fort of Santiago in this city, and those of Cavite, the island of Hermosa, and Terrenate—each receiv- ed three hundred pesos per year. Now each one receives two hundred and fifty pesos, thus sav- ing two hundred and fifty pesos on all five	250 p.	o	o



Map of Molucca Islands; from Bellin's *Petit atlas maritime* (Paris, 1764)

[From copy in library of Wisconsin State Historical Society]

Money	Cleaned	Rice in
	rice	the husk
	(<i>gantas</i>)	(<i>fanegas</i>)

The apothecary of the royal hospital of Manila received two hundred pesos per year, and his ration. That was reduced only by four reals per day, and a total worth one hundred and eighty-two and one-half pesos was thus taken from him . . .

182 p. 4t.

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There are generally six galleys in the city of Manila, the port of Cavite, the island of Hermosa, and Terrenate — each galley with its captain, those of Manila, Cavite, and the island of Hermosa, receiving three hundred and fifty pesos, and their necessary ration; and the other two of Terrenate, five hundred and sixty-seven and one-half pesos per year, with the said ration. It amounted in all to two thousand six hundred and fifty-five pesos per year. Those posts have been entirely

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
abolished, because the masters of the said gal- leys are to serve in them 2,655 p.		o	o
Each of the said six galleys had its own mas- ter, with a salary of two hundred and fifty pesos per year and fifty pesos for a ration, a total of three hundred pesos. Now they receive the two hundred and fifty pesos, but no ration if anchored; while if they are afloat the ration that they received per year is diminished by half for all of them, as it is not certainly known when they are to navigate, or when they will leave or enter from port to port. Thus there is a saving here of one hundred and fifty pesos, which is the half of three hundred	150 p.	o	o
The said six galleys had six boatswains, who received two hundred pesos apiece per year, besides fifty pesos for			

Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
<p>two rations. Now they receive two hundred pesos – without the ration when anchored; while, if afloat, the ordinary ration. Three hundred pesos are saved, and by the difference for the time when they are afloat, the half of that sum is saved, namely, one hundred and fifty pesos</p>	o	o
150 p.		

The said six galleys have six boatswains' mates, who received pay of one hundred and eighty pesos, and thirty-seven pesos four tomins for two rations, in all two hundred and seventeen and one-half pesos. Now they receive one hundred and fifty pesos, and the ration when afloat. Thus there is a saving of four hundred and five pesos, and the ration for all the time while they are at anchor, namely, forty-five pesos

450 p.

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	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
Six guards on the said galleys received an an- nual pay of one hundred and eighty pesos apiece, besides two rations, a total of two hundred and thirty pesos apiece. Those posts were entire- ly abolished, as they are not necessary. They are worth one thousand three hundred and eighty pesos . . .	1,380 p.	o	o
The corporals of the said galleys received an annual pay of one hun- dred and twenty pesos apiece formerly, and two necessary rations additional. Those posts were entirely abolished, as they are unnecessary. The total amount is one thousand and twenty pesos . . .	1,020 p.	o	o
The chaplain of the said galleys received the same pay, and there is nothing in money saved on it, except twenty-five pesos, which is the half			

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
of the fifty, the value of the ration of an officer when afloat. Because it is not known how long this one will be afloat, that ration is cut in two	25 p.	o	o

There are usually ten or twelve pilots and assistants in the voyages to Nueva España, the island of Hermosa, and Terrenate. When afloat they all formerly received pay at the rate of six hundred pesos per year; and, while ashore, two hundred pesos for allowance. Sometimes those voyages last a year, or fourteen or fifteen months, and at the very least nine months; and one is commuted by the other.²⁸ The said pilots shall now receive five hundred pesos while afloat, besides their ration as before, and

²⁸ That is, what is saved on a short voyage is consumed by extra expense on a long one; and the expenses average about the same, one year with another.

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
ashore the same allowance. One hundred pesos is saved from each one and in all ten pilots one thousand pesos .	1,000 p.	o	o
A like number of mates sail on the said voyages in the said ships. They received three hundred pesos apiece, and their ordinary ration. Now they receive two hundred and fifty pesos apiece while afloat, and there is a saving of fifty pesos on each one. This item follows the same rule as the above item, and the total saving is five hundred pesos			
	500 p.	o	o

There are a like number of second mates in the said voyages and on the same ships. They formerly received two hundred pesos, and their ordinary ration while afloat and ashore. Now they receive the same when afloat only; and,

Money	Cleaned	Rice in
	rice	the husk
	(<i>gantas</i>)	(<i>fanegas</i>)

when in the port, one hundred and fifty pesos and no more, for the ration is charged to their pay. Fifty pesos are saved on each one. They receive, besides, the ration for all the time while they are anchored; for although the ship is not always sailing, still they live on it, in case that any storms arise, for there are neither more nor less storms than when they are sailing. Consequently, nothing is saved in what concerns the ration, and there is only a saving of money, which amounts to five hundred pesos

500 p.

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There are about five hundred seamen – more rather than less – who sail in the same voyages and on the ships for Castilla, the island of Hermosa, Terrenate, and other places – where

Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
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journeys are made in champans, which carry merchandise by way of the provinces to the royal magazines of Manila, and Cavite, and along all the river and its port, and in the port and river of Yloylo, and to the presidios; as well as in the vessels that carry the money for reënforcement of those places and those that go to the provinces in order to bring back the bandalas²⁹ of products. They formerly received one hundred and fifty pesos per year apiece, and one ganta of cleaned rice daily as a ration. Now they receive the same one hundred and fifty pesos per year; and the ration is charged to the account of their pay, except when afloat. Those seamen who are gener-

²⁹ That is, the repartimientos or amounts assessed on each district for the royal service, in rice, oil, and other products.

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
ally sailing in all parts number about two hun- dred. They have the same storms above men- tioned, and their voy- ages last at times one year, or more or less. Thus it is considered that nothing is saved on those two hundred. On the remaining three hundred, the said ration of one ganta daily is saved entirely. That saving amounts to one hundred and nine thou- sand five hundred gan- tas	0	109,500	0
The Spanish common seamen who serve in the said parts formerly re- ceived one hundred pe- sos, and the same ration [as the sailors]. Now they receive the same when afloat, but when ashore the ration is charged to the account of their pay. The sav- ing is so small that no mention is made of it	0	0	0

Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
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In the same voyages and ships, and in the presidios, port of Cavite, port of Yloilo, the royal magazines of Manila, and Cavite, his Majesty's champans, and in various other parts, there are usually two hundred Indian common seamen. They formerly received forty-eight pesos per year, and fifteen *gantas* of cleaned rice per month. Now they receive the same pay and ration while afloat, but while at anchor only the pay, and the ration is charged to the account of the pay. It is considered that one hundred common seamen are always on voyages; and since these last, as has been said above, a year more or less, it is not thought that there should be any other course with them. With the other hundred,

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
however, there is a saving of all the rations, which amount to one thousand five hundred <i>gantas</i>	0	1,500	0

Along the said shores and in the said ships, there are generally six Spanish carpenters, who formerly received three hundred pesos and their ordinary ration. Now they receive two hundred and fifty pesos apiece besides their ration while afloat, and while anchored. Fifty pesos are all that is saved from each one, making a total of three hundred pesos 300 p.

The chief calker who is generally at the port of Cavite formerly received three hundred pesos, and his ordinary ration of two *gantas* of cleaned rice daily. Now he receives the same pay, but the revision deprives him of the ration,

0 0

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
which amounts to seven hundred and thirty gan- tas	0	730	0

There are seven Span-
ish calkers in the said
ports and along the
shore. They formerly
received three hundred
pesos per year, and one
ganta of cleaned rice
daily. Now they receive
two hundred and fifty
pesos, and the same ra-
tion when afloat; but if
not afloat they do not re-
ceive that ration. By the
difference in this, as
above stated, the saving
in this particular is one-
half of the ration, which
amounts to one thousand
two hundred and seven-
ty-seven gantas, besides
the three hundred and
fifty pesos in reals, reck-
oning fifty pesos from
each of the seven .

350 p.

1,277

0

There are seven Span-
ish coopers in the said
places, who receive the
said pay and ration, and

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
who have been reduced to the same figures as the calkers. The same amount is saved as in the case of the calkers in the preceding item . . .	350 p.	1,277	0

There are generally four Indian coopers in the said ports, who received sixty pesos per year apiece, and one-half ganta of cleaned rice daily. Now they receive the same pay and ration, while afloat; but when not afloat, they do not receive the ration. Nothing is saved in money; and in case that they go on voyages, there is saved in this one-half of the four rations, which amount to three hundred and sixty-five *gantas* of cleaned rice

0 365 0

The diver at the port of Cavite received three hundred pesos per year, and two *gantas* of cleaned rice daily. Now

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
by the revision he receives two hundred pesos, and one-half the ration. One hundred pesos are saved and three hundred and sixty-five gantas	100 p.	365	0
The Spanish rope-master of Cavite formerly received the same pay and rations as now; and nothing has been saved in this regard by the revision	0	0	0
Two Indian artisans in the rope-factory of Cavite formerly received fifty-four pesos per year, and one ganta of rice per day. Now by the revision they receive the same pay, and the half of the ration. Between the two, three hundred and sixty-five gantas are saved	0	365	0
The Spanish master-smith at Cavite formerly received four hundred pesos per year, and thirty gantas of cleaned			

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
rice per month. Now he receives the same pay without the ration, which was taken from him by the revision. The saving amounts to three hundred and sixty- five <i>gantas</i>	0	365	0

The Indian smiths who serve in the smithies of Cavite, the artillery foundry, and the arsenal of this city of Manila generally number one hundred, more rather than less. The boss received one hundred and twenty pesos per year, and sixty *gantas* of cleaned rice per month. The rest received various sums, and thirty *gantas* of rice per month. Now the boss receives one hundred pesos, and the others the same pay as before, but the ration that is given them must be on the account of their pay, and is fifteen *gantas* to

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
each one – boss and all. Twenty pesos are saved on the boss, besides sev- en hundred and thirty gantas of rice, and thir- ty-six thousand five hun- dred gantas from the one hundred Indians	20 p. o	730 36,500	o o

The Sangley sailors and champan hands on his Majesty's champans that carry the food and products that are transported and bought in the islands, taking these to the ports where they are needed (and there are about one hundred and sixty Sangleys with their bosses), all received various wages. They receive the same now, except that the twenty gantas of cleaned rice which was given to each one as a monthly ration has been reduced by five, and each one is now given fifteen gantas. That reduction amounts to sixty gantas apiece

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
per year, and the total for all one hundred and sixty Sangleys is nine thousand six hundred gantas	0	9,600	0

The Sangley carpenters and sawyers who were actually working in Cavite and other places received sixty-eight and one-half pesos apiece [per year], and twenty *gantas* of cleaned rice per month. Now they receive the same pay, and fifteen *gantas*. Five *gantas* per month have been taken from each one by the revision, or sixty per year. There being fifty Sangleys among those workmen, three thousand *gantas* are saved annually .

0	3,000	0
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The Sangley sawyers of brazas received the same pay formerly as now, and nothing has been saved on this item

0	0	0
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Thirty Sangley smiths who worked on the Ca-

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
vite shore, and in other places, received various wages, and twenty <i>gantas</i> of cleaned rice apiece per month. Now they receive the same pay, and fifteen <i>gantas</i> . By the revision five <i>gantas</i> per month have been taken from each one, or sixty per year. From all the thirty Sangleys one thousand eight hundred <i>gantas</i> are saved .	0	1,800	0
Fourteen Sangley calkers who were ordinarily employed on the royal works of Cavite and in other places received five pesos five tomins and twenty <i>gantas</i> of cleaned rice per month. Now they receive the same pay and fifteen <i>gantas</i> . Each one has been deprived of five <i>gantas</i> per month, or sixty <i>gantas</i> per year. The reduction from all fourteen amounts to eight hundred and forty			

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
gantas. Besides that, each one's pay has been decreased by five reals per month, which for all fourteen amounts to one hundred and five pesos per year	105 p.	840	0
The twenty Indians who served as rowers in the sentinel-boat of Mariveles were former- ly paid one peso per month and one hundred fanegas of cleaned rice, or four thousand eight hundred gantas per year for all. Now they re- ceive the same money, and fifteen gantas of cleaned rice apiece, or for all twenty, three thousand six hundred gantas per year. One thousand two hundred gantas are saved .	0	1,200	0

The two bosses of the
hundred and thirty Las-
cars, natives of India,
who serve as sailors,
common seamen, and in
other capacities, re-

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
ceived formerly two hundred and forty pesos per year, and thirty <i>gantas</i> of cleaned rice per month. Now they receive one hundred and fifty pesos per year, and fifteen <i>gantas</i> of rice per month. One hundred and eighty pesos and three hundred and sixty-five <i>gantas</i> of cleaned rice are saved on the two bosses . . .	180 p.	365	0
Two other bosses of the Lascars received one hundred and twenty pesos per year and thirty <i>gantas</i> of cleaned rice. Now they receive the same pay and fifteen <i>gantas</i> . On the two, three hundred and sixty-five <i>gantas</i> are saved	0	365	0
The other one hundred and twenty-six Lascars received various wages, and thirty <i>gantas</i> of cleaned rice per month. Now they re-			

Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
ceive the same pay, but, by the revision, the ra- tion of each one was re- duced by fifteen <i>gantas</i> per month, or one hun- dred and eighty <i>gantas</i> per year; and that of all, by twenty-two thousand six hundred and eighty <i>gantas</i> of cleaned rice, which is saved .	0 22,680	0

Increase. There are twenty-four companies, or two more or less, in all the camp of Manila and in its presidios and those of Terrenate. They are generally divided into different bodies in order that they may be sent to different parts as occasion demands. Each company has its own sergeant, and they have all received an increase of twenty-four pesos per year over their former pay, because of their arduous duties. That increase

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
amounts to five hundred and seventy-six pesos of common gold . . .	576 p.	o	o
<i>Increase.</i> There			
ought to be ninety-six			
corporals in all the said			
companies, each com-			
pany of one hundred			
men having four, but			
since there are no com-			
panies that contain that			
number, the number is			
adjusted at ninety cor-			
porals. Each one has			
received an increase of			
twelve pesos per year, in			
addition to the sum that			
he formerly received,			
because of their arduous			
duties. That increase			
amounts to one thousand			
and eighty pesos . . .	1,080 p.	o	o
There were a like			
number of shield-bear-			
ers in the twenty-four			
companies, who re-			
ceived ninety-six pesos			
per year apiece. They			
were entirely abolished			
by the revision, and the			
captains shall keep them			

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
at their own cost. That saves two thousand three hundred and four pesos 2,304 p.		o	o
The commander of the ships which are de- spatched annually to Nueva España received three thousand Castil- ian ducados per year. Now he receives by the revision three thousand pesos, thus saving one thousand one hundred and twenty-five pesos. In regard to rations, he receives the same now as then 1,125 p.		o	o
The admiral of the said ships received two thousand Castilian du- cados per year. Now he receives two thousand pesos, thus saving seven hundred and fifty pesos. In regard to rations, he receives the same now as then 750 p.		o	o
One hundred pesos per year have been re- duced by the revision from the two hundred			

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
pesos that each of the two notaries of the said ships formerly received	100 p.	o	o
A like sum has been taken from the pay of the two stewards, in the same manner . . .	100 p.	o	o
A like sum has been reduced from the pay of the water-guards, in the same way . . .	100 p.	o	o
The two notaries and the two stewards of the ships that make the voy- age to Terrenate and one notary and one stew- ard of the ship that sails to the island of Her- mosa, have been reduced for like sums in the same way	300 p.	o	o
<i>Increase.</i> In the office of the controllership, two clerks were added with pay of ninety-six pesos per year, a total of one hundred and ninety- two pesos	192 p.	o	o
The places of chief clerk and second clerk of the pay-office, of			

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
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which the revision makes mention, have neither been increased nor diminished.

Increase. In the said pay-office, two more clerks were added, with one hundred and fifty pesos apiece per year 300 p.

o o

Increase. In the said office of the factor, another clerk was added to the force, with a salary of one hundred and fifty pesos per year . . . 150 p.

o o

Increase. The chief office was given another clerk at the same and aforesaid pay . . . 150 p.

o o

The powder that has been wasted in Manila and in the outside presidios in firing salutes to the persons who govern the provinces, and on festal days, as appears by the different accounts of the administration of the royal estate, is considerable; and inasmuch as this cannot be regu-

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
lated with certainty, it is diminished by eight hundred pesos per year, for according to the revision, powder must not be so used in the future	800 p.	o	o

The standard-bearers of all the companies of these islands and the Molucas (who, as we have said above, are twenty-four in number) received ninety-six pesos apiece per year. According to the revision, they have been cut down by the half. The half that is saved amounts to one thousand one hundred and fifty-two pesos 1,152 p.

Of five standard-bearers of five infantry companies of the Pampango nation (who are in Terrenate, the island of Hermosa, Cagayan, and Camboanga) those of Terrenate received seventy-two pesos apiece per year; and the others, forty-eight apiece. Now

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
they receive the half of those sums, and one hundred and forty-four pesos are saved . . .	144 p.	o	o

Of the five shieldbearers of the said five companies, two received seventy-two pesos apiece, and the others forty-eight. They have all been abolished, and the amount saved in this is two hundred and eighty-eight pesos . . .

Increase. The clerk of the royal magazines of Cavite received one hundred and forty pesos per year, and a ration of forty - eight fanegas of rice in the husk. Now he receives one hundred and fifty pesos, but the ration has been taken away . . .

There are about one hundred artillerymen - more rather than less - in this city of Manila, the fort of Santiago, the port of Cavite, the fort

288 p.

10 p.

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
of Oton, Cagayan, the island of Hermosa, Ci- bu, Caraga, Camboanga, and the Malucas Is- lands. Each of them formerly received two hundred pesos per year. The revision now gives them one hundred and seventy pesos, and each one has been decreased by thirty pesos. The saving in this item amounts to three thou- sand pesos	3,000 p.	o	o
In the reduction of the additional pay of the corporals from the no- bility in the forts of Ter- renate – who received thirty pesos of addition- al pay per year, besides the ordinary pay – and who are six in number and belong to the six companies in the said forts, the sum saved amounts to one hundred and eighty pesos per year	180 p.	o	o
The said six compa-			

	Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
nies in the said forts received thirty Castilian ducados to distribute among those who received additional pay. Now and henceforth, in accordance with the revision, they receive thirty escudos of ten-real pieces. Three pesos six reals are saved on each company; and in all six, twenty-two and one-half pesos per month; and per year	273 p.	o	o
Each of eight corporals of the Pampango nation, for the two Pampango companies who serve in the said forts of Terrenate, receives one peso per month as additional pay. That amounts to ninety-six pesos per year for the eight	96 p.	o	o
There are infantry of the Pampango nation in the island of Hermosa, Camboanga, Cagayan, Oton, Cibu, and Caraga.			

Money	Cleaned rice (<i>gantas</i>)	Rice in the husk (<i>fanegas</i>)
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Among them are three captains, who received two hundred and eighty-eight pesos per year apiece; and three alférezes, who received one hundred and ninety-two pesos per year apiece. The total sum of those salaries is one thousand four hundred and forty pesos. Now the captains receive two hundred and fifty pesos, and the alférezes one hundred and fifty; or a total for all six of one thousand two hundred pesos. Two hundred and forty pesos are saved annually .

240 p.

0

0

General summary of the amounts saved for his Majesty in these islands in certain salaries

<i>Pesos</i>	<i>Tomins</i>	<i>Granos</i>	<i>Cleaned rice (gantas)</i>
450	0	0	
1,080	0	0	1,085
951	0	0	3,650
5,788	3	3	109,500
2,978	4	0	3,507
3,405	0	0	2,737

<i>Pesos</i>	<i>Tomins</i>	<i>Granos</i>	<i>Cleaned rice</i> <i>(gantas)</i>
3,925	0	0	49,830
500	0	0	4,205
650	0	0	23,045
450	0	0	
20	0	0	197,519
235	0	0	
2,304	0	0	<i>Rice in</i>
2,475	0	0	<i>the husk</i>
2,384	0	0	<i>(fanegas)</i>
3,789	4	0	200
31,435	3	3	84
			48
			332
<i>Increases of pay</i>			
<i>(pesos)</i>			
1,656			
792			
10			
2,458			

pesos tomins granos

Consequently, according to the revision of salaries and rations made by the governor – which, exactly copied from the original, accompanies this certification – it appears that the amount annually saved for his Majesty is thirty-one thousand four hundred and thirty-five pesos three tomins and three granos, in reals; one 31,435 3 3 hundred and ninety-seven thousand five hundred and

pesos tomins granos

nineteen gantas of cleaned rice, which is appraised at one-half real per ganta (about the usual price in the market), and hence is equivalent to twelve thousand three hundred and forty-four pesos seven tomins and six granos; and 12,344 7 6

three hundred and thirty-two fanegas of rice in the husk, of forty-eight gantas to the fanega, valued at twelve reals per fanega, and thus worth four hundred and ninety-eight pesos. That gives a total of 498 0 0

forty-four thousand two hundred and seventy-eight pesos two tomins and nine granos. 44,278 2 9

Subtracting from that sum two thousand four hundred 2,458 0 0

and fifty-eight pesos for some 41,820 2 9

places that the governor created anew, as the said revision declares, the remainder is forty-one thousand eight hundred and twenty pesos two tomins and nine granos. That is the amount that is saved for his Majesty annually, in deducting it from the former pay and rations attached to the positions cited by the said revision. Of those posts, and of all others that his Majesty has

pesos tomins granos

sustained and sustains in these Filipinas Islands, there is a full account in this auditing department of the royal exchequer which is in my charge. And now, so that it might be apparent to his Majesty in his royal Council of the Yndias, and in any other place, I attest the same, referring to various books, accounts, and other papers of the said office, where it appears, in fulfilment of the command given by the said decree of the governor and captain-general, Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera. Manila, June twelve, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

JUAN BAPTISTA DE ÇUBIAGA

[Tribute from Negro slaves]

Sire:

With the approval of your royal Audiencia, it has been decreed that the negro slaves of the Indians shall pay tribute to your Majesty, in the same manner as it is paid by their masters and by the Indian slaves whom these hold, who are of their own countrymen and people. No one has opposed it, except that the religious of St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Augustine say that this is a new imposition, and that it cannot be collected. They do so, because there

is nothing else in which they can oppose the government. These Indians, Sire, formerly cultivated their lands, and they served the Spaniards for what the latter chose to pay them, on the ships and in other kinds of service; but now, as they have become slothful and do not render these services, they purchase these negro slaves and use them for making money – with which gains they pay their tributes and support themselves. It stands to reason that since the Indian slaves of these people pay the tribute as their masters do, the negro slaves should do the same. Your Majesty will be pleased to command that this matter be considered, and to give me such orders as shall be most expedient for the service of your Majesty – whose Catholic person may our Lord preserve in your greatness, as Christendom has need. Manila, June 30, in the year 1636. Sire, your vassal kisses your Majesty's feet.

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

[*Endorsed*: “Governor of Philipinas; to his Majesty, June 30, 1636; no. 14; government.”]

[*Endorsed*: “December 16, 1637. Tell him that his zeal and solicitude for the profit of his Majesty's treasury are appreciated; but that this measure seems to be an innovation, and not quite in accordance with law. Accordingly the religious are not without reason for opposing it. Tell him that if any difficulties arise from this, and it shall not be established and current with the consent of all, he shall avoid levying this impost, and shall render account to the Council of what he shall have done.”]

LETTER FROM FATHER CRISTOBAL DE
LARA TO FATHER FELIPE DE
CARDENAS

Pax Christi vobiscum

I consider it unnecessary to tell you of the pleasure, joy, and satisfaction which the letter of Brother Felipe gave me; for certainly this would be great, considering the desire which I already had to know about the brother as well as the other pupils and companions, and likewise because of the love and good-will which I have always borne towards Brother Felipe—who I am satisfied will repay it, and will not forget me in his holy prayers. By means of them I hope for much fervor of spirit and courage in pursuing the way of our Lord, that I may not be faint-hearted in the continual hardship and toil in which I trust in our Lord soon to find myself, with the conversion of these heathen—so widespread and far extended, and in so great need of laborers and workers. This increases our labor, so that our sufferings are very great—a prolonged martyrdom in which the sons of the Society pass their lives, exposed to innumerable fatigues, which are incredible even when seen. I believe, indeed, that you in Europe have no idea of this apostolic life; for of late years the missionary fathers have gone about through these mountains alone, poor and half-

naked, having nothing to eat or drink, without shelter or entertainment, on account of the ferocity of the enemy in Mindanao. These latter came forth this year with intent to kill all the fathers that should fall into their hands, on account of a vow which they made to their false god Mahoma that, if he would give them health, they would pursue the fathers who are teaching a religion different from their own. Sanô, their infamous king, complied with this vow, and brought out his army of cruel savages to attack the villages of the Society. They wrought havoc worse than can be told, sparing no one. When they learned that the fathers had fled to the mountains, they sent out dogs to capture them and get them in their power – in the meantime burning houses and churches and outraging the images. They overtook the good father Juan del Carpio,³⁰ whom they cut into pieces and killed with inhuman and unheard-of cruelty. Before this they had captured our good old man and father, Domingo Vilanzio,³¹ a holy man who died from the ill-treat-

³⁰ Juan del Carpio was born at Rio Frio, Spain, in 1583. While a youth, he met in Spain Alonso Humanes, who was going with missionaries to the Philippines, and offered himself for that work. Humanes took him to Mexico, where Carpio entered (1604) the Jesuit order; completing there his education, he went to the Philippines in 1615. His missionary labors were carried on among the Visayans, during eighteen years. He was murdered by the Moro pirates, December 3, 1634. See account of his life in Murillo Velarde's *Historia*, fol. 70 verso, 71.

³¹ Juan Domingo Bilancio – thus Murillo Velarde (*Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 64); but Retana and Pastells (in Combés's *Hist. de Mindanao*, cols. 740, 741) give the name as Juan Bautista Vilancio – was born in the kingdom of Naples, about 1573. Before attaining his majority, he entered the Jesuit order, and came to Manila in 1602, spending the rest of his life in the Philippine missions. He was captured by the Moro pirates in 1632, who

ment which they inflicted upon him. In short, without detailing at length the glorious ministries of the Society in Filipinas, suffice it to say that fathers who have been through it all affirm that Paraguai³² was but matter for jest compared with this; for the Society has no field more glorious, nor more to the honor of our Lord. This is well seen through the marvelous events which his Majesty has brought about through us, without which it would be impossible for so small a number of fathers to accomplish so much and not suffer a thousand deaths in so many hardships as they have endured. In short, my brother, it is there that we shall look to go, and die a thousand times in the quest, working day and night. But comfort shall not fail us, to refresh us in these labors, for this is only a little rice and water, and what they are seeking most to accomplish in España — namely, that the cross of our Lord should be raised up here through these labors, and all with the great-demanded a heavy ransom for him. This was raised in the following year, but he died in captivity before the money reached him. His name (apparently Vilanci) is given a Spanish form by all these writers; and he is not mentioned by Sommervogel.

³² The Paraguay missions, among the most famous of the Society of Jesus, and an offshoot of those of Brazil, were founded in 1588. The reductions formed from the converts early in the seventeenth century, formed what has been called "the republic of Paraguay." There the religious instructed them not only in religion, but in various trades and industries, the products of their work being communal. The great prosperity of the reductions was arrested (1631-32) by the heathen tribes of Brazil, whereupon the Christian Indians abandoned them and founded new missions at the Grand Rapids of the Parana River. In 1656 there were said to have been more than twenty towns all civilized, each containing 5,000 or 6,000 Indians, and many other towns partly civilized. Each reduction was governed by two priests. After the expulsion the missions declined rapidly. See *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland reissue), xii, p. 276.

est pleasure in the world for poor me. What I should have lost if I had remained there, etc.

Our Lord will repay the brother for his kindness in giving us news of the province, and of the fellow-novices and the fathers whom we know. Certainly there is no pleasure, for us who are here, to compare with our joy in knowing about our fathers and brothers, who are ever present in our hearts.

Brother Diego Ponze has acted in a very despicable manner. I never have confidence in persons like him.

I have good news of Brother Celerio, his companion, which pleases me much. I had written to Brother Diego de Mendizabal before I received the clause in the letter from the brother. To all the fellow-novices who are there, a thousand million greetings, to each one separately and to all in common; and let them commend me to our Lord. I was much pleased at the good news of all which was given me by Brother Juan de Alcala. I am writing to several persons, and it will make me glad [to know] that all continue in the growth that I desire, both in virtue and in learning, etc.

Not to take more space, I leave unsaid many things – especially concerning Japan, where the persecution is progressing cruelly and fiercely. May our Lord check this, and protect my brother Felipe as I desire, etc. Filipinas; Manila, July 3, 1636.

From the humble servant of my brother,

CRISTOVAL DE LARA

I beg my brother to let Brother Christoval de Escamilla and Brother Manuel de Frias consider this as their own; and to them I send most cordial greetings.

LETTER FROM CORCUERA TO FELIPE IV

Sire:

1. I am at this port of Cavite, lading the two galleons belonging to your Majesty that carry the merchandise which you have been pleased to grant and permit to the citizens for their navigation and trade to Nueva España. These two ships will carry this year a greater registered cargo than formerly the ten galleons for five years carried. The usual amount registered was from three hundred or four hundred to five hundred chests of silks, stuffs, and cloths [*bienzos*] (which here they call *mantheria*); but now I have laden the capitana, and the registration exceeds a thousand chests, while the almiranta, which has a larger hold, will probably carry one thousand two hundred chests. The royal duties which belong to your Majesty will amount to three per cent; the freight charges and further duties at the port of Acapulco will come to six hundred thousand or seven hundred thousand pesos. Accordingly, if your Majesty's viceroy will send me even the proceeds of the said royal dues alone, I shall be able, in the four years' [service] that I have offered your Majesty, to relieve this your royal treasury of more than three hundred thousand pesos of debts, and to maintain these islands with what can be obtained from them—a thing which your Majesty has so

desired, and which you have so often charged so many governors to do. If God grants me life, that I may employ it wholly in the service of your Majesty, and in efforts to increase your royal estate, I will not content myself with that, but more and more will send you all the cloves from the Malucas Islands which can be procured in trade at your forts in Therrenatte. Thence I will send the spice to the port of Acapulco, to be sent to España to your Majesty – or to be sold there, and the proceeds sent to España. I have also decided to purchase all the wax that comes from the encomiendas of your Majesty's vassals, and place it with [the products of] your royal encomiendas, to be sent on your Majesty's account to Nueva España, so that the proceeds of the wax may be sent to your Majesty with that from the cloves. [*Marginal note:* "Inform him of the receipt of his letter, and say that we hope that he will always do what he can to increase the royal estate; and that he shall endeavor to secure, by all proper and convenient methods, the relief of the royal treasury."]

2. I was occupied in this service on the morning of St. Peter's day, being engaged in celebrating a fiesta to the blessed sacrament, and giving thanks to God for the favor that He has shown to your Majesty in bringing to this port, at the same time and hour, your two galleons which I sent with the relief to Therrenatte – of which affair I will give account to your Majesty in another letter. There were two other ships, small ones, which the viceroy, the Marques de Cadereyta, sent to these islands with the usual succor, because last year he had not sent galleons which could carry it. In other letters I have

told your Majesty of his reasons of convenience. By these ships I received the decrees which your Majesty has been pleased to command me to issue. In the first, you command me to charge the archbishop, the bishops, the provincials of the religious orders, and all classes of ecclesiastics and virtuous people to commend to God your Majesty's monarchy, and that they should banish the vices which among your vassals are so displeasing to our Lord; and the same order is laid upon the governors, alcaldes, and higher magistrates of these provinces. This mandate of your Majesty shall be obeyed, Sire, with all promptness, and with the carefulness which so important a matter demands—that not only for the time, but continually, this care may be maintained. And as the beginning has been made by the benefit received on St. Peter's day from the fiesta of the blessed sacrament, I shall endeavor to secure the regular observance of this fiesta every year, forever, so that what your Majesty desires may on that occasion be implored from God. This decree is dated at Madrid, June 28, in the year 1635. [*Marginal note*: "Write that this is approved."]

3. With this decree comes another, in which your Majesty commands that I make secret inquiries, and carry out the directions in the said decree regarding the Frenchmen who have come to these islands and are living in them, and regarding their property. This I shall promptly execute, according to the tenor of the decree, and with such discretion and proper measures as shall be possible. [*Marginal note*: "Seen; tell him to carry out the commands of the decree."]

[4.] In another decree, dated at Madrid, March

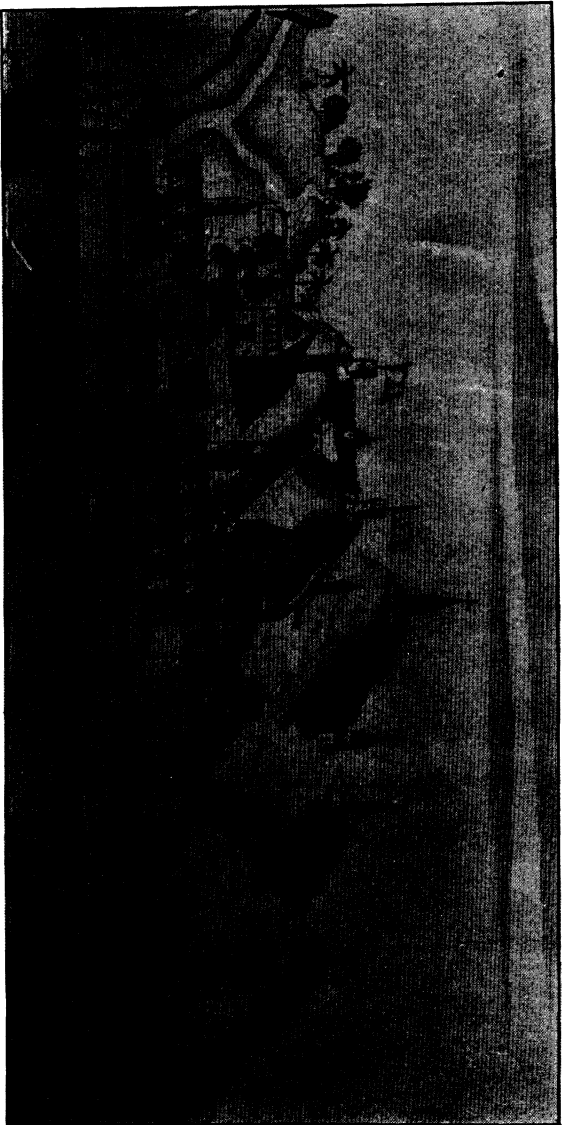
4 of the same year, your Majesty is pleased to command that when I send the galleons to Nueva España, they shall be in command of a trustworthy person, and that other persons of similar ability shall go with the ships, so that in case of [the commander's] death these persons shall bring them back [to these islands]. This very arrangement I had made before I saw your Majesty's decree, for which honor and favor I kiss your Majesty's feet a thousand times. In another letter I have entreated your Majesty that you will be pleased to command your viceroy of Nueva España to allow the commander and admiral who conduct thither the galleons from these islands to exercise authority and jurisdiction in the port of Acapulco (so long as they are not on the land) to punish their seamen and soldiers, and that the warden of the port shall not interfere with them by endeavoring to have such delinquents punished on shore; for they have always had some men under them who have ability, and have served well, and are very competent—who yet, from the time when the said galleons cast anchor, neither respect nor obey as they should, during the entire time while they remain in port, the said commander and admiral, since they think that those officers cannot punish them until they set sail for the return voyage. This is a great hindrance to the service of your Majesty; and since you have been generously pleased to grant to your governors authority to send future successors for the said offices, may your Majesty be also pleased to grant me this favor which I now entreat, in behalf of their authority and due respect and proper government. [*Marginal notes*: “Bring hither the orders already given on this subject, and

a statement of what is customary in other ports, especially in that of Bera Cruz." "They are here." "Let the governor's request be granted, with the conditions that he mentions; and write to the viceroy that this seems to be the general practice, to judge from precedents found here, and that he is to issue the necessary orders for the execution of the above – unless he finds difficulties in the way which oblige him to do otherwise. Then, when the men on the ships commit any excesses on shore, let a case be made against them, and then referred to the commander and admiral."]

5. In another decree from Madrid, dated May 4 of the same year, your Majesty commands, that in order to prevent the frauds which hitherto have been committed on the ships which sail with merchandise to Nueva España, I shall, since this port is so near, sometimes go to examine and direct the lading, or entrust this duty to some careful person. Before the said decree arrived, I came (as I have informed your Majesty in another letter) to the said port to serve as a royal official; and I have already laden the capitana – which is an undertaking of so much importance that the governor who does not attend to it in person, but entrusts it to some one else whom he supposes to be trustworthy, does not comply with the dictates of his conscience or with the obligations of his office. Notwithstanding that your Majesty has royal officials to whom this task pertains, I have thanked God that I had begun to render this service to your Majesty before I could know your wishes, and whether you had commanded such action. Now that I know what you desire, I will carry it out more expeditiously; for here in the

Yndias I need only to show the orders of your Majesty, in order to defend myself from the jealousy and complaints of your vassals, and with these they respect and obey me better. I follow my natural inclination in obeying, as a Christian and a loyal vassal, the orders and commands which your Majesty shall be pleased to give me. [*Marginal note: "Seen."*]

6. In another decree, dated May 4 of the same year, your Majesty commands that, on account of the losses which have resulted therefrom, I shall not allow the trade and commerce of the Portuguese with these islands, so that the Chinese trade may not be broken off. I shall obey this very punctually, according to its tenor. Judging that this very thing which your Majesty commands was best, I had, before receiving the decree, sent advices to the city of Macan that they must not send any merchandise to these islands; and that only one ship could come from Macan, which should bring some anchors, muskets, and arquebuses, of which these islands are in great need. Although when I came here I found three of their ships in the port, this year only one has come; and hereafter this commerce will be dispensed with, inasmuch as it will not be expedient to send [to Macan] for anything save what the Chinese cannot bring—such as anchors and firearms, which often get broken. But in everything which shall not be expedient for your Majesty's service I shall prevent the Portuguese from coming to this port, or to any other, to trade with the Castilians. With the welcome and kind treatment which has been shown to the said Chinese thirty-three of their little ships have come this year, and have brought so great a



View of the city of Macao; from *Recueil des voyages Comp. Indes. Orient.*
Pais-Bas (Amsterdam, 1725)

[From copy in library of Wisconsin Historical Society]

quantity of merchandise that your Majesty's vassals have not for many years past seen stuffs so cheap. This has been caused by receiving them hospitably, treating them well, and despatching their affairs graciously and promptly; and by not allowing the officers of justice or those of the treasury to molest them, or to take from them a thread of silk. With this shipment of goods, these your vassals have no need whatever of the trade with the Portuguese; and the customs duties of six per cent which the Chinese pay have amounted this year to more than fifty thousand pesos. [*Marginal note*: "Seen. Tell him to execute the decree, since he knows how expedient it is."]

7. In another decree, dated Madrid, December 4, 1634, your Majesty commands your viceroys and governors that, on account of the inconveniences resulting from the vacant see, and as the ecclesiastical cabildos manage some affairs contrary to law and to the service of God and your Majesty, in order to check them such measures shall be taken as shall be most expedient for your royal service in these islands. Thus far, Sire, the vacant [archiepiscopal] see has not been governed by the ecclesiastical cabildo, but by the bishop of Cibú, or by the bishop who has been longest in office; accordingly such irregular proceedings have not occurred here. Moreover, the religious orders and their members avoid these evils, obeying your Majesty and your governors, as also do the ecclesiastics of the cabildo of this holy church who are your very obedient chaplains. They cannot fail to be such, for they live on what your Majesty furnishes them from your royal treasury; and they perform what has thus far been required from them

which pertains to your royal service – especially in commending your Majesty to God in their prayers at the beginning and the end of mass, as well as our lady the queen, and our prince and the royal children. They have done this very willingly, although it is something which had not been done before, even among the religious orders – which surprises me, and seems a very unusual thing. In all respects and in every way, I will observe and follow what your Majesty is pleased to command. [*Marginal note: “This is well.”*]

8. In another decree, dated at San Martin, December 21, 1634, your Majesty commands that I shall not go beyond the decrees in regard to the resignations of saleable offices, in which it is commanded that the third part of the price of such office be placed in the royal treasury. What your Majesty commands shall be fulfilled and carried out. [*Marginal note: “Let this decree be brought. Tell him that his course is approved, and he shall act accordingly.”*]

9. In another decree, dated Madrid, January 30, 635, your Majesty commands that I continue in the efforts made by my predecessor, Don Juan Niño de Tabora, and the plans that he had formed to expel the Dutch enemy from the island of Hermosa, and to unite the forces of Yndia with those of these islands. This latter undertaking, Sire, is very difficult; and the former is no slight thing. For if the enemy were at that time commencing their fortifications, these are by this time completed and very well defended; and unless your Majesty send here a thousand Spanish soldiers, I have not the force in these islands to drive out the Dutch from Hermosa. The

Portuguese of Macan desire that this be done, because the enemy inflicts damage on them in the voyage to Xapon. But the fact that the enemy maintain a post there does not at all embarrass or hinder the crown of Castilla; for the Chinese do not fail to come in twenty-four hours to the forts of your Majesty that are on this side the sea, bringing the necessary merchandise and supplies. That island, Sire, is of very little use to your Majesty, and it serves only to consume a large part of the revenues; for the Indians of the said island are [too] ferocious to be reduced to our holy Catholic faith, and it only serves to keep occupied there two hundred and twenty Spaniards, and a company of Indians from Nueva Segovia, and several vessels. But as it is so injurious to the reputation of honorable soldiers to abandon the posts which others will seize, I am – notwithstanding that, as a soldier, I have considered the little or no importance of that post – maintaining and aiding it with thirty thousand pesos a year, until your Majesty shall command what may please you. As for joining our forces with those of Yndia, Don Juan de Silva, in the time when he was governor, maintained the forces of these islands in a very flourishing condition; for he was able to build and assemble ten powerful galleons and two pataches, with which he undertook to join the viceroy of Yndia to destroy the Dutch and drive them from these seas. Although he set out, he did not find any preparation on the part of the said viceroy; and by waiting for it he lost an excellent opportunity when the enemy had left their station. It is said that he died from grief at having spent so much and achieved so little result; and that this was the cause for the islands having

fallen into so great poverty, and for your Majesty's royal treasury being so embarrassed. For the governors to equip armed fleets is a very difficult enterprise; for from that time until the present people have been bewailing the heavy costs, and regretting the ruin of the Indians who perished in the shipyards. If this colony is preserved in its present condition, not displaying our weakness to the enemies, but rather giving them and all the neighboring peoples to understand, even with a few ships, that your Majesty is lord of these seas – except of the strait of Sincapura, where the Dutch keep all their forces – no little will be accomplished – even if your Majesty do not, as I said above, send one thousand Spanish soldiers. I do not mention the money, for neither can your Majesty send it; and I am planning here how to economize and to maintain myself with the royal duties, a few encomiendas, and the licenses of the Sangleys for the eight hundred thousand pesos which are spent in these islands. [*Marginal note:* “Bring the decree which gave rise to this paragraph, and the plan of Hermosa Island, and whatever has been written about this matter.”]

10. In another decree, dated Madrid, January 30, 35, your Majesty commands that these ships shall sail from here so that they will reach Acapulco December first. Your Majesty gave me the same orders last year by another decree that they should leave this port, without fail, by June first. Having called a council of all the pilots, both chiefs and subordinates, they affirm and assert that the said ships cannot leave until the twelfth or fifteenth of July, because the vendabals – the winds with which they must sail – do not begin until that time, nor are

they strong until the early days of August; and the ships waste the said fifteen days in sailing the eighty leguas which they have to make among the islands to reach the Embocadero of San Bernardino. For at times when they have sailed earlier they have been detained, before they could leave the channel, one or two months, in which time they have consumed a large part of the supplies for the voyage; and as a result, many of the men have died, from the hardships of the voyage or from want of food. For all these and many other reasons, I entreat that your Majesty will be pleased to believe that I shall not waste time in these despatches, as best suits the service of your Majesty and the benefit of your vassals. I have spared the viceroys of Mexico from sending flour, oil, fodder, and a thousand other things for the equipment of the soldiers, of which there is no lack there – as now I am informing the viceroy, the Marques de Cadereyta, in the memoranda which I am sending him. By this your Majesty has been saved a great part of your revenue, as well as by the galleons not being repaired in Acapulco; for the viceroy did nothing more to them after the necessary repairs from the calkers and carpenters who went on the ships. In a little more than a month, they could be again sent to sea; and they did not spend, at most, more than five months in going from here, three in returning, and one in the port. [*Marginal note:* “Tell him that those ships are to depart at the time which shall seem most seasonable, since the orders do not intend that they shall set out with evident loss and risk at the time which has been fixed. While matters remain as they are, therefore, he shall make such arrangements as are most expedient.”]

11. In another decree, dated Madrid, November 29, 634, your Majesty commands that a report be made of the vacancies which there are in the dignities, canonries, raciones, and medias-raciones. Don Juan Cereso de Salamanca, during the time while he governed after the death of Don Juan Niño de Tabora, promoted the following persons. The post of schoolmaster was given to the canon Don Francisco de Valdes. Because Don Alonso de Campos, appointed by your Majesty, remained in España, his canonry was given to Don Gregorio Descalona, a racionero; and his racion was given to Pedro Diaz de Ribera. By the death of Don Garcia de Leon, who was archdeacon by your Majesty's appointment, his office was given to the cantor Brizeño; and his cantorship was given to Don Francisco de Valdes, the schoolmaster. The schoolmaster's office was conferred upon the canon Don Gregorio Descalona; and his canonry was given to Pedro Diaz de Ribera, racionero, his racion to Diego Ramirez de Alcantara, a medio-racionero, and his medio-racion to Pedro Flavio. By the death of the said archdeacon, Don Juan Brizeño, the archdeaconry was given to Don Francisco de Valdes, cantor; his cantorship, to Thomas de Guimarano, treasurer; and his treasurer-ship, to Don Juan de Olasso. By the death of the said Guimarano, the cantorship was given to Don Gregorio de Escalona, schoolmaster; his post as schoolmaster to Don Fabian de Santillan, canon; and his canonry, to Don Pedro de Quesada. On account of the resignation of the archdeaconry by Don Francisco de Valdes (in which post I found him serving), I presented to the said dignity of archdeacon Master Don Andres Arias Xiron; he is

a cleric of thoroughly satisfactory character, and good parts, and is now filling that post. Of all this I have given account to your Majesty in another letter; you will command according to your pleasure, in regard to all the aforesaid persons. It will give me pleasure to inform your Majesty very soon of the vacancies which you are to fill without presentation of names by this government; but I shall always exercise the care which I ought in the execution and fulfilment of this decree, according to my obligation. [*Marginal note*: "In the memorial."]

12. In another decree, dated Madrid, February 16, 635, your Majesty gives command on account of the information sent you by Don Juan Cereso Salamanca that the trade with Xapon had been spoiled by the indiscretion of certain religious. I promise your Majesty that the religious orders have done you a great service in this respect, especially that of St. Dominic. Although they have so many times been told of what your Majesty has seen fit to command by various decrees, they have been unwilling to obey. About a month ago, their provincial sent a champan belonging to the said order, with three of their religious; one of these was among the most prominent of their members, and he has greatly disturbed the peace of this colony since he arrived in it. They went with a Japanese priest. It was not enough with these religious to show them your Majesty's decrees, nor to threaten them that an account of their proceedings should be given to you, and that the favors which they usually demand gratis from the government would be withheld from them. [I told them this] in order to induce them to cease following their own pleasure in this matter, [which they do]

without heeding that your Majesty is spending so great an amount of your income in bringing them to these islands for the reduction of the Indians to our holy Catholic faith. But for this they do less than is right, although they have in these islands, without going far away to seek them, so many on whom they can exercise the charity of their office. I assure your Majesty, with all truthfulness, that I do nothing in your service in which I earn more merit than in tolerating and enduring some of these religious orders. I will endeavor, as discreetly and diligently as possible, that this and other decrees of your Majesty relative to this matter shall be observed. [*Marginal note*: "Tell him to deal with the religious orders with great moderation, in making them observe what is commanded."]

13. In regard to the deficiency of Spanish soldiers, it is because so many have died, on account of the unhealthy climate and the great heat, not because so many permissions for going away have been given as your Majesty has been informed. For in these galleons no Spaniard is going, unless he is married and going to live with his wife, as your Majesty has ordered in other royal decrees; or else, if they are not married, they have given bonds, satisfactory to the royal officials, for two thousand or four thousand pesos that they will return to this country; and even the seamen and artisans on the galleons have given bonds for the same, in greater or less sums. [*Marginal note*: "Tell him to observe the decrees and orders that have been issued in regard to this, and to endeavor to prevent frauds in their execution."]

14. In another decree, dated Madrid, February

16, 635, your Majesty commands that I take measures to check the raids which the Joloan, Camucon, and Bornean Indians make, so that they shall not injure the settlements in these islands, plundering them and carrying the people into captivity – of which the Audiencia has given an account to your Majesty. For many years, Sire, nothing has been done to stop this, save to waste your Majesty's incomes; for, after the mischief had been already done, vessels sailed from here with troops who were untrained, poorly equipped, and with no relish for fighting. Then, after all the expense had been made, the Indians who are subject to us were left plundered and captive; and the enemy remained victorious, and still more daring and insolent. The only measure which I, but recently arrived, could take for the remedy of this evil was to order all the alcaldes-mayor to raise companies of Indians, exempting the captains, alférezes, and sergeants from tributes and personal services, and equipping them with firearms, pikes, and lances. As a result, this year only one village has been plundered – and that because the alcalde-mayor could not arrive in time; and the only damage they did was to capture a religious of St. Francis and some few Indians. The fort which has been erected near La Caldera, that of Camboanga, which is in the very territory of those Indians, holds them somewhat in check. I wish to become freed somewhat from so many necessary demands upon my attention as this government requires, and see to the completion of a galley which I have begun, in order to try whether I can at one blow make an end of these enemies, and thus carry out what your Majesty is pleased to command. But these [Moros] are a peo-

ple who, if they encounter any resistance, no matter how small, betake themselves in flight through the mountains, with which they are so well acquainted; while the Spaniards cannot follow them on account of the great heat, and the many difficulties of the journey; and our peaceful Indians, when they have not the Spaniards near them, are timid and accomplish nothing. Consequently, the whole enterprise has some share of hindrances and difficulties; but I will try, so far as it lies in my power, to accomplish it, and so that your Majesty may not have occasion to command this another time. [*Marginal note: "This is well."*]

15. In another decree, dated Madrid, February 21, 635, your Majesty commands that the shipyards be supplied with timbers, planks, and all that is necessary for the repairing and equipment of the galleons, because your Majesty has understood that there is a lack of these materials and of the provisions necessary for the royal storehouses. Your Majesty was correctly informed of this; but for the past year efforts have been made to remedy these deficiencies, by building flat-bottomed boats for transporting the said timbers, and having as many as possible of the latter cut. With this, the galleons which go to Castilla have been put in very good order, and there is sufficient lumber left for the necessary and usual repairs which continually have to be made in this port. As for the provisions for the storehouses, not only have the necessary supplies been lacking, but there are no storehouses in which to place them. I shall therefore begin two buildings: one a storehouse at this port, inside the castle of San Phelipe; and another as lodgings for the

infantry company which forms the garrison. Hitherto the soldiers of that company have lived outside the said castle, as they had no quarters – some of them in wretched cabins built by their own hands. In the same manner, Sire, or very little better, the rest of the troops were lodged in Manila. As I have written to your Majesty in other letters, I am building them a chapel, where the dead may be buried and the sacraments administered to them; also a barracks, where they can live comfortably. I am endeavoring that [the expense of] this may be met by donations and gratuitous services, and not from the royal treasury of your Majesty. I have ordered that a large house, in which the governors were lodged when they came to this port, be set aside for a royal hospital. I have had it repaired, and two wings added; and thus medical treatment can be given in it to the seamen, the convicts on your Majesty's galleys, the carpenters and calkers, and some sixty-six slaves of the crown. It was said that your Majesty has also carpenters ashore, besides petty court officers, and the Lascars and Moros who serve in mooring the vessels and for all the extra labor that is needed ashore; and hitherto they have had no hospital, and it was necessary to take them to Manila for treatment. [*Marginal note*: "Ascertain what provision has been made for this in other regions. As for the buildings for parish church, hospital, and barracks for soldiers, this is explained by another letter from the governor. As for the shipbuilding, what he says is approved."]

16. In a decree dated Madrid, February 16, 635, your Majesty commands that I exercise care to see that the religious shall not go to Japon for the pres-

ent, because the king of that country has so tightly closed the door to the Catholics. [*Marginal note*: "Seen."]

17. He has commanded this, with very rigorous penalties of death and confiscation of property, that no vassal of his shall for ten years leave his kingdom, in any kind of vessel, so that religious may not go in their ships; he thus checks the trade with the Chinese also, so that they may not carry religious. Only the Dutch maintain commerce with Japon, from which has resulted great loss to these your Majesty's islands – for they bring from Xapon much silver; copper and tin, for casting artillery; wheat; and many other products and conveniences which are very necessary for the said islands. Then the barter of the silks, fine Castilian cloths, and Spanish leather made from deerskin, which were carried there from these islands – all this is so cut off that it seems as if no way could be found to restore the trade unless God in His mercy shall open one in the course of time. [*Marginal note*: "Seen."]

18. Don Pedro de Quiroga y Maya, whom your Majesty has been pleased to send to Mexico to take the residencia of the Marqués de Cerralbo, sends me a certified copy of a section in the instructions which your Majesty gave him, in which your Majesty has commanded me, by one of your royal decrees that, in order to stop the illegal transportation to Nueva España of more merchandise than is permitted to the citizens, the ships shall be built thus: the almiranta, of four hundred to five hundred toneladas' burden; and the capitana, of five hundred to six hundred toneladas. These decrees, Sire, have not come to my hands thus far, further than a copy

which the said royal visitor sends me, issued in the term of Don Juan Niño de Tabora. This shall be very punctually obeyed in the future construction of the ships; but it is necessary to make the present voyage with the galleons that are already built. I must remind your Majesty that the islands are at the end of their resources, as far as the Indians in them are concerned; for it is they who bring the timber from the forests for the said shipbuilding. I have thought of an expedient for this, in order not to complete the destruction of the Indians; it is, to ask the viceroys of your Majesty in Nueva España and Pirú to send vessels here. Every two years, let the viceroy of Pirú send to Nueva España a ship with the permission which your Majesty has given, one of those which the viceroy the Conde de Chinchon caused to be built in the time when I served your Majesty there; they were of three hundred to four hundred toneladas' burden, and carried twelve, fourteen, or sixteen pieces of artillery. The cost of these will be paid here, on the account of this royal treasury. With this, and with rebuilding the galleons that are here, and repairing them every year, may be remedied the loss in the shipyards, and the destruction and ruin of the Indians. It is no light burden to maintain the laborers who cut the timber for the repairs every year. Will your Majesty be pleased to command the said viceroys to do what I have proposed; and thus in the course of time the ships will come to be of the burden and lading that your Majesty requires. Meanwhile, until the matter is arranged, the galleons will go from here to Nueva España every two years, each with two registers – one for the previous sailing, and one for the present

year – as they go now. In the year when they go, they will bring back the half of the silver for the proceeds [from the merchandise sent]; and in the following year, when they do not have to go, the rest of the money will be brought in the ship which will be sent from Piru. I hope that your Majesty will approve this, and give such commands as are most expedient for your royal service, in order that these vassals who are so poor may be encouraged, and the merchandise that they export may bring in good returns when nothing goes unregistered, and that the Indians may be saved from ruin. [*Marginal note*: “Let there be no innovation in this matter which he proposes, and follow the orders which have been issued in regard to the building of ships; and tell him that, as he has been commanded, he shall make no innovations without first consulting the government in regard to the matter, so that orders may be given him to be put into execution.”]

May our Lord guard the Catholic person of your Majesty, as Christendom has need. At Cavite, July 11, 636. Sire, your vassal kisses your Majesty's feet.

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

THE HOSPITALS AND HOSPITAL CONTRIBUTIONS

*Letter to the king from Sebastian Hurtado de
Corcuera*

Sire:

1. Your Majesty was pleased to entrust to my predecessor, Don Juan Niño de Tabora, as he was the person who had the matter in hand, the regulation of the comfort of the hospitals, the care of treating the sick, both soldiers and citizens, and the administration of the revenues of the said hospitals, so that the expenditures would be well employed and your Majesty's treasury have some relief.

[*In the margin:* "That the purpose in having established the convalescent ward is approved."]

2. The first thing which I heard on my arrival in this government was this [matter of the hospitals], in which I have found that your Majesty spends more money than you ought to spend; and, in the endeavor to apply a suitable remedy, I ordered the royal officials to note on their pay-rolls that the soldiers must give two reals from each month's pay, and the sailors four—as is done in the States of Flandes with the royal hospital of your Majesty's army, where the soldiers give one real from each month's pay, and the officers, higher and lower, according to their pay. This amounts to more than

seven thousand pesos per year, as your Majesty will have seen by the certifications which I enclose.

3. The religious of the Order of St. Francis – to whose brothers the government and several of your Majesty's decrees have entrusted for some years back the duty of nurses in these hospitals, and to their religious priests that of chaplains therein – have both [brothers and priests] contrived to make an ill use of the orders of your Majesty and of the government; for besides the comforts that are brought from Castilla at so heavy an expense to the treasury of your Majesty, such as wines, raisins, almonds, and quince preserves, and other things which are not found here, and are indispensable for the hospitals – and although these things and the medicines were delivered to the steward and apothecary, the said officials did what the religious ordered them; and, to keep the devotees of religion contented, dispersed and spent many of those things outside of the hospitals. I made the steward whom I found in the hospital of the Spaniards settle his accounts, which were in very bad condition; but it will cost him his property. I appointed a new steward to whom all the aforesaid articles which came from Nueva España were delivered, on his responsibility and account. This man asked for the keys to the pantries, in order to keep them, but the religious refused; consequently, I was obliged to issue strict order that the keys be given up. The provincial of that order gave way to anger, saying that the taking the keys of the pantries to keep them was to his discredit. With the devotion which I have always had toward that order, and my love for its religious, I requested the said provincial to charge himself with,

or have given to some religious, the said articles, with the obligation to give account of his expense at the end of the year to the person whom I should order to do that. He replied that I could not do that, according to his rule; nor could he subject himself to give account of anything; the steward, however, continues to exercise his duty and care.

[*In the margin:* "Having dismissed the dis-calc'd religious from the hospital, although it is thought that in this he will have desired the greater service of his Majesty and the convenient regulation of the matter, he might, before executing it, and before having made this innovation, have given some notice of it, as he has been notified to do in other points. Let him do that from now henceforth. In regard to the condition of the edifice and the other matters, let him advise immediately; and of the manner in which the hospital is governed, and what has been the practical result of the change, without making any alteration in the state in which this despatch shall find it, and without going any farther."]

4. Various decrees of their Majesties, your holy father and your prudent grandfather, order that a convalescent ward be made in the royal hospital of the Spaniards. Since my predecessors did not carry out this plan, I began it with two thousand pesos, of which a governor of the Sangleys of the Parián made your Majesty a gracious gift. It was advisable to have this ward pass through certain small cells which the brothers and religious chaplain had in the said hospital. I courteously requested the provincial to withdraw them to his convent while the said ward was being built; but he refused to do so. I again

requested him to remove the most holy sacrament – which was deposited in a ward under the principal one of the infirmary and exposed to indecency, because the filth and water from the sick fell from above – to a place above, where mass was said to the said sick. He also refused to do that; on the other hand, he went to the archbishop, who began a suit before the ordinary. Although the royal Audiencia (the said archbishop refusing to give the regimental chaplain-in-chief permission to administer the holy sacraments to the soldiers and others, and refusing to give it, and [the chaplain] having appealed to royal aid from the fuerza), declared that he should do what I had asked, the archbishop, nevertheless, refused to give the said permission – until that, after he had been exiled from these kingdoms for having refused to obey the decrees of your Majesty (as I shall recount in another letter), the bishop of Camarines, who came by act of the royal Audiencia to govern during his absence, granted to the said chaplain-in-chief the said permission to administer the sacraments. For these and many other reasons, of which I shall give your Majesty an account, I made the said religious leave the royal hospital of the Spaniards, and the regimental chaplain-in-chief ministers to the sick for the present, until a chapel is finished (which I ordered to be built in which to bury the soldiers), and quarters [for them], at the expense of their pay, which they have graciously given, without any expense to the treasury of your Majesty. And when the said chaplain-in-chief shall go to exercise his duty in the said chapel, another chaplain shall be appointed for the said royal hospital. Sire, the reasons which have existed for

changing the religious of this hospital are those which your Majesty will please have examined in the papers which I herewith enclose. At the same time, I petition your Majesty, with all humility, to be pleased to grant permission to the brothers of [St.] John of God to come to serve in these hospitals in place of the same discalced religious, and at their own petition – because of the disorderly acts that the brothers must have committed in visiting private houses in the city in the quality of surgeons, and in methods from which, they tell me, proceeded the relaxation of the order, as well as other things that deserve correction. For many reasons concerning the service of God and of your Majesty, it has been, and is, advisable that these hospitals be administered by the brothers of [St.] John of God, and that the Order of St. Francis attend to their ministries and the observance of their rule. In case that your Majesty finds it unadvisable that the said brothers of [St.] John of God come to these islands, will you be pleased to have the holy sacraments administered by seculars, the revenue put in charge of laymen, and several of the very aged *alférezes*, who have served long enough and now cannot bear arms, act as nurses – as they are doing at present with great willingness and promptness, in order not to lose the accommodations of the hospital by negligence and poor service. Only the said hospitals of this city and of the port of Cavite I have withdrawn from the power of the religious of St. Francis of this city, for the reasons aforesaid, and because of the opposition which the religious have made to your Majesty's governor, in their desire to make themselves lords and masters of your royal hospitals; since neither by reason of

their rule, nor by their own will, nor by anything else can they be proprietors. There was no hospital at the port of Cavite; but on account of the donations which some persons have given to your Majesty, I have ordered a house to be prepared where the governors lived when they went to that port, and an excellent hospital has been made there. In it five hundred sailors, three or four hundred convicts belonging to the galleys, slaves of your Majesty, the common seamen of the galleons, and the calkers and carpenters of the said port – in all two thousand odd persons – receive medical treatment. Since this hospital has been created anew (for a barracks which was used for a hospital has fallen), the religious do not claim it in ownership, as they do the hospital of this city. The alms given by the sailors for the said hospital amount to three thousand pesos per year. With what the calkers, carpenters, and other workmen who receive pay will give, and a small cattle-farm that it owns, with some more that can be obtained from some encomienda when it falls vacant, the said hospital will be sustained without any expense to your Majesty's treasury. And in order that that of Manila may do the same, an excellent cattle-farm costing eight thousand pesos has been bought at the advice of the treasury council with the money contributed for it. With those ranches that it had, and the three pesos per year from each soldier, and an encomienda of one thousand three hundred tributes which has been granted to the convalescent ward in the name of your Majesty, in virtue of your royal decree despatched to Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas (and I petition your Majesty to be pleased to confirm to it the encomienda of the village of

Macabebe, in the province of Pampanga) – with all the above and other things which I shall endeavor to secure for it, I shall relieve your Majesty's royal treasury from expense. The expense which I have made in only the said hospital in ten months, without its being possible to avoid it, amounts in money to seven thousand pesos for the aforesaid, and more than that amount in kind. Since your Majesty has so many encomiendas here, it is right that we relieve the treasury of this expense; and we shall put to rights many things which I confess to your Majesty have never been regulated until now. With it the hospitals of the natives, that of Los Baños, that of Camarines, and others, I have left to the religious until your Majesty orders what is your pleasure. But it is not advisable that they should administer them, but the brothers of [St.] John of God, or secular priests and lay stewards. This is the truth, as I assure your Majesty as your vassal and minister, whereby I discharge my conscience of all that shall be placed on it; and, if opportunity offer, I shall give a detailed account and one to the royal Council of the Yndias. May our Lord preserve the Catholic person of your Majesty, as is necessary to Christendom. Manila, the last of June, 1636.

Sire, your Majesty's vassal kisses your feet,

SEBASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA

Comments of the Council

In regard to the deductions [from their pay] that are levied on the soldiers and sailors, since it is with their good-will, as is supposed, his having introduced this plan is approved.

Since that aid amounts to seven thousand pesos

annually, and since not only the soldiers are treated in the hospital, but other citizens; if this is so, it seems that it will be necessary that the cost of the hospital be not entirely charged to the soldiers, but that the others contribute their share, whereby the deductions [from the pay] of the soldiers will be less and less felt.

That in regard to passing to the Yndias it has not been considered as very advisable that the brothers of [St.] John of God go; but that in its general aspect the matter is being considered, and he will be advised of what shall be resolved.

That in regard to placing *alférezes* on half-pay as nurses, it is not advisable; nor do such men proceed with the charity that is necessary, and that such ministry requires.

That in regard to the hospital which has been established in Cavite, by taking the house of the governor, it is not approved, and that is another innovation of which he must give account; for, although the work is good in itself, it has the inconvenience that when the governors go to that port, they have no house in which to lodge, and that they will have a motive for building one. Consequently, he shall not go ahead with that undertaking. To apply some *encomienda* for that hospital of Cavite appears advisable, and he is permitted to assign it an *encomienda* of about five hundred ducados of income. Let him advise of what he does in this, and whether the quantity is sufficient, in respect to the expense, and considering the aids which he mentions in his letter, which will be made voluntarily by the contributors.

In regard to the cattle-farm which has been

bought for the hospital of Manila with the money from the gifts, see whether the royal officials or any other persons write of this; and, if they do not write, have him told that if it is money donated as a gift to his Majesty, that expenditure is not approved; for he was not authorized to make it, and has rather exceeded his authority, and it will be necessary to restore the money to his Majesty. But if it is a gift made as an alms by citizens, that will be well; and it is expected that he will have it administered as is advisable.

Let information be asked separately on all the points of this letter from the archbishop, Audiencia, royal officials, and the superior of the Order of St. Francis.

Write to the governor not to make any innovation.

Governor's act regarding convalescent ward

Don Sebastian Urtado de Corcuera, knight of the Habit of Alcantara, governor and captain-general of these Philipinas Islands and president of the royal Audiencia herein, etc. Inasmuch as by a clause of a letter from his Majesty dated San Martin de la Vega, April twenty-nine, one thousand five hundred and seventy-seven, directed to the governor of these islands, it is ordered that, as it is so fitting and necessary, as he has been informed, a convalescent ward be established where the poor soldiers who served in these islands may be cared for and entertained when convalescing after having left their treatment in the hospital; and that he shall maintain and supply it by assigning one thousand Indians as an aid to the support of the hospital, or as shall seem best to him. That, as is well known, has not been done; and no

effort has been made to fulfil the royal will in so many years, although this enterprise is so useful to the community. On the contrary, it has been the cause of many wrongs, as experience demonstrates; for, by not having had the said convalescent ward, so many soldiers, sailors, and other poor wretches have died by reason of lacking care and comfort when they recover from their illness. And great disorders have been and are caused with such sick when they leave the said hospital with little health and strength – some returning to their own houses, and some to those of others, where because of the little or no comfort, and the poor and injurious food, with wine, tobacco, buyo, and other similar things, and the continual temptations to associate with women of evil life, they relapse, so that their sickness has no cure. These having been examined by me and certified to me, in order to check these evils, and to comply with what his Majesty ordered so many years ago but which has not been done, and as it is so pious a work in itself, and for the service of our Lord and the good of the community: I have resolved to establish a convalescent ward near the royal hospital for the Spaniards of this city of Manila. And [it shall be] incorporated with the same [hospital] because there is no other place where it can be established – so that in it may be treated, entertained, and entirely cured, the sick of the hospital. These, without leaving the hospital, may pass from the sick wards to the convalescent ward, where they will be treated and entertained as well as possible from the proceeds of one thousand two hundred tributes of encomienda, which I have assigned and given to the said ward in his Majesty's

name in the province of Pampanga, in the encomienda of Macabebe, which became vacant because of the end and death of Don Nicolas de Rivera, who possessed it for the last generation. The building of the said room and ward has been begun for more than two months; and the foundations are laid in some parts by order of Captain Santiago de Gastelu, citizen and regidor of this city. I entrust its work to him, as he is a competent person. He has represented to me that, in order that he may continue the work to the completion that is required, and with the divisions and pantries that are necessary for its service, it is advisable that he tear down a small old house, with some cells, that are built close to the said work in the said hospital. There live the discalced fathers of St. Francis, who have attended and attend to the hospital. The men cannot continue further with the work because the said old work is in the way, and because it is necessary to make the foundations alike all over. As the said religious are there, he could not begin to tear it down; while there was no place where the said religious could be accommodated in the said hospital because of its small capacity; nor was there room for the physician, surgeon, barber, steward, and apothecary, who are the persons who must live within. And likewise the house where the apothecary-shop is located, and where the apothecary and steward live, he must tear down in order to proceed with the said work. Likewise he must do the same and tear down the church of the hospital in order to make there a low living-room and an infirmary, where the soldiers of the Pampanga nation who fall sick in this camp of Manila may be treated and cared for, as they have

no other place for it. A church is not necessary in the said hospital, because another one for the infantry is being built, as quickly as possible, next to the royal palace in the Plaza de Armas, where all those who die in the said hospital will be carried for burial. To say mass, confess, and console the sick in the hospital, they will be attended by the regimental chaplain, to whom it properly belongs. His Majesty has assigned a special pay for that here. Consequently, the said religious can be dispensed with and are not necessary, since they neither confess those who go there, nor attend to anything else that is important. Therefore, the father-provincial of the Order of St. Francis shall withdraw the religious (both priests and lay-brothers) who are in the said hospital; and shall take them to his convent, since it is within the walls of the city, and is capacious enough for them and for many others. There they will live with all comfort, care, and shelter, as is fitting, as it is advisable for the service of God and the welfare of the community that the work and quarters be continued where the said convalescents and soldiers of the Pampanga nation may be treated. By this act he ordered the said Captain Santiago de Gastelu that the work be immediately proceeded with, tearing down the said room and church and all else that seemed necessary for the said purpose, as quickly as possible, since he has been given money for the said work and building. In order that the aforesaid might be done, the said captain Santiago de Gastelu shall be notified. By this act, accordingly, he issued this command, and signed it. The government secretary, or another public or royal notary, will notify the aforesaid, and the said father

provincial, so that what is ordered by this act may be fulfilled. Manila, March five, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

SEVASTIAN HURTADO DE CORCUERA
FRANCISCO DE ORTEGA

Notification. In the city of Manila, on the eighth day of the month of March, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six, I, the notary, read and notified the order and act of this paper, as is contained therein, to Captain Santiago de Gastelu, regidor of this city, in his own person. He said that he heard it; and I attest the same.

ALONSO MENDEZ DE ALMADA,
royal notary of mines and registers.

Notification. In the town of San Pa[b]lo, on the tenth of March, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six, I, the notary, read and notified the said act and order of this paper, as is contained therein, to father Fray Jeronimo del Espiritu Santo, provincial of the order of the discalced religious of St. Francis of these islands. He said that he heard it, and that he would talk with the said governor concerning the matter. I attest the same; witnesses being Alférez Diego Salgado Colmenero and Matheo Mexia.

ALONSO MEN[D]EZ DE ALMADA,
royal notary of mines and registers.

Collated with the originals, which are in possession of Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, governor and captain-general of these islands and president of the royal Audiencia herein, and to which I refer. In order that this might be evident, I gave the present, authorizing it in public form at his petition, and gave it the authentication which takes the place of law. As witnesses at its examination, copy-

ing, correcting, and collation were Simon Delgado, Jhoan Correa, and Francisco Gomez, here present.

In testimony of law, I have affixed my seal:

AUGUSTIN DE VALENZUELA, notary-public.

In the public service; fees dispensed with; I attest it.

We, the undersigned notaries, certify that Agustin de Valenzuela, before whom passed this authorization, and who signed and sealed this copy, is notary-public of the port of Cavite; and as such, entire faith and credit have been and are given, in and out of court, to the acts, copies, and other despatches which have passed and pass before him. In order that this might be evident, we gave the present, July five, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

ALONSO BAEZA DEL RIO, notary-public.

ALONSO MENDEZ DE ALMADA,

notary-public and clerk of registers.

*Money deducted from pay of soldiers and sailors as
alms for the hospital*

We, the official judges of the royal treasury of these Filipinas Islands for the king our sovereign, certify that, by virtue of an order of the governor and captain-general, Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, there has been and is deducted from [the pay of] the soldiers of this camp, in the settling of their accounts that has been made and is being made from the first of July of the past year of one thousand six hundred and thirty-five and thereafter, for the balancing of accounts of the service of his Majesty in various parts and presidios of these said islands, from each soldier, that which will be stated hereafter, of what they had to contribute as an aid

in the expense and support of the sick in the royal hospital of this city of Manila. And, according to what it has been possible to ascertain with greater certainty, the said contributions from all the soldiers of this said camp, and in the forts and presidios of these islands, will amount to the following sum.

In the city of Manila and its camp

In this said city of Manila and its camp, there are at present four companies of Spanish infantry, of which two belong to (and have that title) the said governor and captain-general, and the master-of-camp, Don Lorenzo de Olaso.

From [the pay of] the captains of the other two companies, the deduction is made at the rate of one peso per month apiece – which amounts annually to twenty-four pesos 24 pesos

From the four sergeants of the said companies, at the rate of two reals per month apiece – which amounts annually to twelve pesos 12 pesos

The company of the said governor has ninety-two effective soldiers, and four posts below the commissioned officers – which, at the rate of two reals per month apiece, amounts annually to two hundred and eighty-eight pesos 288 pesos

The company of the said master-of-camp, Don Lorenzo de Olaso, has one hundred and seven soldiers, and four posts below the commissioned officers – which, at the rate of two reals per month apiece, amounts annually to three hundred and thirty-three pesos 333 pesos

The company of Captain Don Juan Francisco Hurtado de Corcuera has ninety-eight soldiers and four posts below the commissioned officers – which, at the rate of two reals per month apiece, amounts annually to three hundred and six pesos 306 pesos

The company of Captain Don Juan de Frias has also ninety-one effective soldiers and four posts below the commissioned officers – which, at the rate of two reals per month apiece, amounts annually to two hundred and eighty-five pesos . . . 285 pesos

The company of mounted arquebusiers of the captain and sargento-mayor, Don Pedro Hurtado de Corcuera, has thirty soldiers, one lieutenant, one alferez, and one trumpeter – which, at the rate of one peso per month from the said captain, four reals from the lieutenant, four from the alferez, and two from the trumpeter and from each soldier, amounts annually to one hundred and seventeen pesos . . . 117 pesos

From two adjutants of the sargento-mayor of this camp, at the rate of two reals per month – which amounts annually to eighteen pesos 18 pesos

From the head drummer of this camp, at the rate of two reals per month – which amounts annually to three pesos 3 pesos

From the twelve soldiers of the guard of the said governor, at the rate of two reals per month apiece – which amounts annually to thirty-six pesos 36 pesos

Castle of Santiago in this said city

In the said castle of Santiago there is an effective garrison of one drummer, one lieutenant, and twenty - two soldiers - which, at the rate of two reals per month apiece, amounts annually to seventy-two pesos 72 pesos

Fort San Felipe at the port of Cavite

In the said fort San Felipe, there is one company of Spanish infantry, with one captain, one alférez, one sergeant, four minor posts, and seventy soldiers - which, at the rate of one peso per month from the said captain, four reals from the alférez, two from the sergeant, minor posts, and said soldiers, amounts annually to two hundred and forty-three pesos . . . 243 pesos

Presidio of Zibu

In the city of Zibu is a garrison of one company, with one captain, one alférez, one sergeant, four minor posts; and according to what we have been able to ascertain with greatest certainty, about fifty soldiers in the said company - which, at the rate of one peso from the said captain, four reals from the alférez, and two from the sergeant, minor posts, and said soldiers, amounts annually to one hundred and eighty-three pesos 183 pesos

Presidio of Zamboanga

In the presidio of San Jose of Zamboanga, there are three companies, with

three captains, three alférezes, one sergeant, four minor posts, and two hundred and ten soldiers in all three companies – seventy in each one, according to the sur-
est information that we have been able to
obtain. At the said rate of one peso per
month from each captain, four reals from
each alférez, and two reals from the ser-
geant, each minor post, and each soldier,
it amounts annually to seven hundred and
twenty-nine pesos 729 pesos

Presidio of Oton

In the fort of Nuestra Señora de la
Rossario, the presidio of Oton, is a garri-
son of one company of Spanish infantry,
with one captain, one alférez, one ser-
geant, four minor posts, and fifty soldiers,
or thereabout. At the rate of one peso
from the said captain, four reals from the
alférez, and two from the sergeant, the
minor posts, and the said soldiers, it
amounts annually to one hundred and
eighty-three pesos 183 pesos

Presidio of Cagayan

In the fort San Francisco at the city of
Segovia, the presidio of Cagayan, is a
garrison of one Spanish infantry company
with one captain, one alférez, one ser-
geant, four minor posts, and about eighty
soldiers or so – which, at the said rate
from each one, namely, one peso per
month from the said captain, four reals
from the alférez, two from the sergeant,
and each of the minor posts and the said

soldiers, amounts in one year to two hundred and seventy-three pesos 273 pesos

Presidio of Caraga

In the fort of San Joseph of Tanga, the presidio of Caraga, is a garrison of one company of Spanish infantry, with one captain, one alférez, one sergeant, four minor posts, and forty-five soldiers—which, at the rate of one peso per month from the said captain, four reals from the alférez, and two from the sergeant, minor posts, and said soldiers, amounts annually to one hundred and sixty-eight pesos . 168 pesos

Presidio and fort of the island of Hermosa

In the presidio San Salvador of the island of Hermosa, there are three companies of Spanish infantry, with two captains (for the third is commanded by the castellan and governor of the said presidio), three alférezes, three sergeants, two minor posts, and one hundred and eighty soldiers among all the companies, in the proportion of sixty men to each company, which is the most authentic information that we have been able to discover and ascertain. At the rate of one peso per month from each captain, four reals from each alférez, two from each sergeant, minor post, and soldier, it amounts annually to six hundred and twenty-seven pesos 627 pesos

In the said presidio there are two adjutants of the sargento-mayor, one with the pay of a musketeer, and the other with

two hundred and forty pesos per [*illegible in MS.: year?*], which at the rate of two reals per month from the one who serves as a soldier, and six from the other, amounts annually to twelve pesos . . . 12 pesos

Forts of Terrenate

In the forts of Terrenate there are six companies of Spanish infantry, with two which are to come in the reënforcements which are next expected. For them there are five captains (for the sixth company is commanded by the governor of the said forts), six alférezes, six sergeants, twenty-four minor posts, and four hundred and eighty soldiers in all, in the proportion of eighty soldiers to each company, which is the ordinary number. At the rate of one peso per month from each captain, four reals from each alférez, and two reals from each sergeant, minor post, and soldier, this amounts annually to one thousand six hundred and twenty-six pesos 1,626 pesos

In the said forts are two adjutants of the sargento-mayor – one with the pay of a soldier, and the other with twenty-five ducados per month – which, at the rate of two reals per month from him who serves in the post of soldier, and six from the other, amounts annually to twelve pesos 12 pesos

Consequently, all together the said contributions amount annually to five thousand five hundred and seventy-four pesos, which is the sum found among the said infantry in the balances and settlements of the accounts; it is levied on them when their pay is

given to them, and when warrants are issued for what his Majesty owes them for the time while they have served in these islands in the military posts. This is the most authentic account which it has been possible to get, for many soldiers are generally sick in this city and other places; and consequently, there is usually more or less expense, of little consideration. And so that this may be evident, at the order of the governor and captain-general, Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, we attest the same in Manila, June twenty, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

(In triplicate.)

HIÑIGO DE VILLAREAL

BALTHAZAR RUIZ DE ESCALONA

We, the undersigned notaries, attest that Iñigo de Villa Real and Don Balthazar Ruiz de Escalona, by whom this certification is signed, are factor and treasurer, the official judges of the royal treasury of these Philipinas Islands; and entire faith and credit has been and is given to them, in and out of court, to the certifications, acts, and other despatches which they as such royal official judges have given and give. Manila, June twenty-three, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

FRANCISCO DE LA TORRE, notary-public.

ALONSO BAEZA DEL RIO, notary-public.

AUGUSTIN DE VALENZUELA, notary-public.

I, Martin Ruiz de Salazar, accountant of the royal treasury in these Philipinas Islands for the king our sovereign, and senior royal official judge in these islands, certify that it is evident and appears by his Majesty's books of the royal accountancy that are in my charge, that there is charged to the accounts of

the pay of the captains, officers, soldiers, sailors, pilots, and common seamen who serve his Majesty in the company of the seamen which is stationed in this port of Cavite and in other parts of these islands, three thousand one hundred and twenty-nine pesos of common gold, in the list where the account of it is kept for the time that they serve; and what is granted and paid by them for the contributions of the hospital for one year reckoned from the first of July, one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, until now (the date for deducting the amount from them, when their accounts are concluded and balanced) is at the rate of eight reals from the captain, four from the alférez, two from the sergeant, a like sum from each non-commissioned officer, and four reals from each marine soldier, a like sum from the pilot, and the same from the common seamen. This has been done in virtue of an order of Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, knight of the military Order of Alcantara, governor and captain-general of these islands, and president of the royal Audiencia herein, under date of August sixteen of the said year one thousand six hundred and thirty-five. And in order that this may be evident wherever required, I give the present.

Cavite, June thirty, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

MARTIN RUIZ DE SALAZAR

We, the undersigned notaries, attest that Martin Ruiz de Salazar, by whom the certification of this other part appears to be signed, is accountant and official judge of the royal treasury of these islands. Entire faith and credit has been given, in court and out, to the certifications and other despatches signed

in his name. In order that that may be evident, we give the present in Cavite, July twelve, one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

ALONSO MENDEZ DE ALMADA,

royal notary and clerk of registers.

AUGUSTIN DE VALENZUELA, notary-public.

ALONSO BAEZA DEL RIO, notary-public.

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